

# Concordia Theological Monthly

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Vol. V

APRIL, 1934

No. 4

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## Die rechte Mitte in der Liturgie und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes.

### 1.

In vielen theologischen und kirchlichen Zeitschriften werden gegenwärtig die liturgischen Bewegungen besprochen, und wir sind aufgefordert worden, uns darüber zu äußern. Wir kommen dieser Aufforderung nach, um auch einmal wieder die rechten Prinzipien, wie sie in der lutherischen Kirche niedergelegt sind und stets von ihr bei der Behandlung dieser Sache beachtet werden sollen, zu besprechen. Wenn wir diese Prinzipien recht bedenken und im Auge behalten, werden wir in allen einschlägigen Fragen den rechten Weg gehen und beide Abwege, sowohl den Abweg des Ritualismus und Externalismus der römischen Kirche als auch den Abweg des Subjektivismus und der Formlosigkeit der reformierten Kirche, vermeiden. Die lutherische Kirche wird dann, wie in andern Stücken, so auch in dieser Hinsicht, den rechten, sicheren Mittelweg gehen gegenüber den beiden falschen Wegen der eben genannten falschen Kirchen. Auch in der Sache der Liturgie oder Ordnung des Gottesdienstes läßt sich die rechte lutherische Kirche leiten von Gottes Wort und ihrem guten Bekenntnis und folgt den historischen Bahnen der von Gott so sichtlich ins Leben gerufenen und geleiteten Reformation Luthers gegen den übertriebenen und im Dienste eines falschen Gottesdienstbegriffs stehenden starren Formalismus der römischen Kirche und gegen den mit allen schönen historischen Formen aufräumenden, revolutionären Calvinismus. Luther ist auch in diesem Stücke der Gottesdienstordnung der Reformator der Kirche, und wenn wir wirklich Luthers Grundsätze folgen, die er aus der Schrift geschöpft hat, bleiben wir auf dem rechten, geraden, sicheren Mittelweg.

Der große Reformator hat erkannt und mit Recht behauptet, daß der ganze Kultus der Kirche sich um das Evangelium dreht und alle Formen und Äußerungen des Kultus, alle Gebräuche und Ordnungen des Gottesdienstes im Dienste des Evangeliums stehen sollen. Der Heiland selbst legt in dem Gespräch mit der Samariterin den Gottesdienst

des Neuen Testaments fest, wenn er gegenüber dem alttestamentlichen, durch das Zeremonialgesetz genau bestimmten Kultus das Wort spricht: „Es kommt die Zeit und ist schon jetzt, daß die wahrhaftigen Anbeter werden den Vater anbeten im Geist und in der Wahrheit; denn der Vater will auch haben, die ihn also anbeten. Gott ist ein Geist, und die ihn anbeten, die müssen ihn im Geist und in der Wahrheit anbeten“, Joh. 4, 23. 24. „Wahrheit“ steht hier im Gegensatz zu den Vorbildern des Alten Testaments, die im Neuen Testamente ihre Erfüllung gefunden haben. „Geist“ steht im Gegensatz zu dem äußeren Buchstaben, den Formen und Bestimmungen des Gesetzes, die abgetan sein sollen. Die Christen des Neuen Testaments sollen Herz und Sinn zu Gott erheben und mit Gott verkehren, wie eine Person mit einer andern Person verkehrt, mit Gott, der als Geist über den äußeren Ort und Raum erhaben ist, der aber in Christo sich als Vater uns gegeben hat, der durch Christum mit den Sündern versöhnt ist. Dem dienen wir Christen, zu dem erheben wir Herz und Sinn, zu ihm beten wir, und mit ihm verkehren wir wie Kinder mit ihrem Vater. So war es in der apostolischen Zeit, und so soll es bleiben bis an das Ende der Tage. Und wenn wir dann die Stellen des Neuen Testaments betrachten, die die einzelnen Stücke des neutestamentlichen Gottesdienstes namhaft machen, wie Apost. 2, 41. 42. 46; 1 Kor. 10, 16. 17; 11, 18. 20; 14, 16. 26. 33. 40; 16, 2; Eph. 5, 19. 20; Kol. 3, 16. 17; Hebr. 10, 25 (Wortverkündigung, Taufe, Abendmahl, Abendmahlsfeier, Gebet, das „Amen“ als Anfang einer Liturgie, äußere gute Ordnung im Gottesdienst, das Opfer der Hände, Gesang, Versammlung), dann erkennen wir sofort, daß der Gottesdienst der Christen eine Einheit von zwei Seiten ist: Gottes Gabe an die Menschen, sacramentum, und des Menschen Hingabe, sacrificium. Der Gottesdienst der Christen ist eine wechselseitige Aktivität, an alternating, interchanging activity. Das drückt unser Bekenntnis in der Apologie treffend aus mit den bekannten Worten:

„Und damit man nicht blind in die Sache falle, müssen wir erstlich Unterschied anzeigen, was Opfer und was nicht Opfer sei, und dies ist nützlich und gut allen Christen zu wissen. Die Theologen pflegen recht zu unterscheiden sacrificium und sacramentum, Opfer und Sacrament. Nun, das genus wollen wir lassen sein ceremonia oder heilig Werk. Sacramentum ist eine ceremonia oder äußerlich Zeichen oder ein Werk, dadurch uns Gott gibt dasjenige, so die göttliche Verheißung, welche derselben Ceremonien angeheftet ist, anbietet. Als, die Taufe ist eine Ceremonie und ein Werk, nicht das wir Gott geben oder anbieten, sondern in welchem uns Gott gibt und anbietet, in welchem uns Gott tauft oder der Diener an Gottes Statt. Da bietet uns Gott an und gibt uns Vergebung der Sünden nach seiner Verheißung: ‚Wer da glaubet und getauft wird, der soll selig werden.‘ Wiederum, sacrificium oder Opfer ist eine ceremonia oder ein Werk, das wir Gott geben, damit wir ihn ehren.“ (Triglotta, S. 388; Müller, S. 251.)

Solche Gabe Gottes an die Menschen und solche Hingabe des Menschen an Gott nennen wir Gottesdienst, service; und zwar ist Gott in diesem Begriff „Gottesdienst“ in erster Linie das Subjekt, und die

Gemeinde ist zunächst das Objekt des Dienstes. Gott hält den Gottesdienst, *God serves*. Gott dient dem Menschen, gibt ihm und gibt ihm immer wieder sein Heil in Christo durch Wort und Sakrament. Und der Mensch dient Gott. Er nimmt dieses Heil in Wort und Sakrament im Glauben hin, ehrt, lobt und dankt Gott dafür und stellt sich mit allem, was er ist und hat, in Gottes Dienst. Wie Luther so treffend sagt: „Das heißt Gott dienen, und das ist der rechte Gottesdienst, daß man *g l a u b e* an den, den der Vater gesandt hat, *Jesum Christum*. . . . Mit diesem wahrhaftigen Gottesdienst stimmt die ganze Heilige Schrift überein. Denn er ist auch in der Heiligen Schrift gegründet, daß, willst du Gott dienen, so gedenke, daß du glaubest an den, den der Vater gesandt hat.“ (VII, 2213.)

Nach diesen Bestimmungen wurden in der alten Kirche die Grundformen des Gottesdienstes festgelegt. Da finden wir bald, wie die berühmte Stelle aus Justins erster Apologie um die Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts zeigt, eine gewisse Gottesdienstordnung. Es heißt dort im 67. Kapitel:

„Am Sonntage geschieht eine Versammlung aller, die in den Städten oder auf dem Lande wohnen, und es werden darin die Denkschriften der Apostel [jedemfalls die vier Evangelien] oder die Bücher der Propheten vorgelesen, solange wir Zeit dazu haben. Danach, wenn der Vorleser geendet hat, gibt der Vorsteher in einer Rede Erinnerung und Mahnung, jenen herrlichen Vorbildern nachzueifern. Alsdann stehen wir alle miteinander auf und senden unsere Gebete empor. Und nachdem wir unser Gebet getan haben, bringt man Brot und Wein und Wasser herbei, und der Vorsteher verrichtet Gebet und Danksgungen, soviel er vermag. Die Gemeinde antwortet mit ihrem Amen, und es geschieht die Austeilung der geweihten Dinge, die jeder Anwesende empfängt, während sie den Abwesenden durch die Diakonen hingetragen werden. Die Wohlhabenden aber und die willig dazu sind, geben ein jeglicher nach seinem Gefallen, und die gesammelten Gaben werden vor dem Vorsteher niedergelegt, der damit den Wittwen und Waisen zu Hilfe kommt, auch der durch Krankheit oder sonstige Heimgesuchten, der Gefangenen, der Fremdlinge, kurz, aller derer, die in Bedrängnis sind, sich annimmt.“

Das, was wir jetzt Kirchengebet nennen, geht in seiner Grundform auf das erste Jahrhundert zurück. Der Gottesdienst vollzieht sich in dem Rahmen eines Kirchenjahrs, zu dem schon in der apostolischen Zeit das Osterfest den Anfang machte, 1 Kor. 5, 6—8. Diese rechte Gestalt des Gottesdienstes wurde dann im Mittelalter durch das aufkommende und immer stärker werdende Papsttum mehr und mehr verdreht und verfälscht. Die Predigt und Verkündigung des göttlichen Wortes wurde beseitigt. Die Messe wurde die Hauptsache; das Altarsakrament wurde zum Opfer gemacht. Die Gemeinde durfte sich nicht mehr im Gottesdienst betätigen, nicht einmal singen, sondern alles lag in den Händen der Priester, die eine fremde Sprache redeten. Und der ganze Gang des Gottesdienstes wurde veräußerlicht, gesetzlich gemacht, und zwar je länger, desto mehr in sehr komplizierter Weise.

Da kam Luther. Er hat die Grundformen des Gottesdienstes von

der papistischen Verderbung gereinigt, hat alles im Sinne des Evangeliums aufgefaßt und festgelegt und zugleich in rechter Weise fortgebildet. Der Verkündigung des göttlichen Wortes wurde wieder die zentrale, alles beherrschende Stellung gegeben, das Abendmahl wurde nach Christi Einsetzung gefeiert, die Gemeinde wurde zur Beteiligung herangezogen, und Luther war der erste, der ihr Kirchenlieder gab. Die Musik und Künste wurden in den Dienst des Evangeliums gestellt. Hingegen war die sogenannte Reformation Zwinglis und Calvins keine wahre Reformation, sondern eine Revolution. Im Gegensatz zu dem Papsttum wurden alle Formen abgeschafft, und der ganze Gottesdienst wurde umgestaltet. Unter reformiertem Einfluß drang dieser „andere Geist“ auch ein in die lutherische Kirche durch den Pietismus und Rationalismus, wurde aber wieder beseitigt, indem man im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert zurückging auf die altkirchlichen, altlutherischen Formen.

Wir sagten eben, daß Luthers Reformation wirklich eine Reformation war und keine Revolution. Es war Luther um das Evangelium zu tun, und in seinem verständigen, konservativen Sinn behielt er die in der damaligen Kirche gebräuchlichen Formen bei, reinigte sie von allem Mißbrauch, schaffte sie aber nicht einfach ab und ersetzte sie nicht durch neue Formen. Luther wußte zu gut, wie sehr das Volk an den überkommenen und bekannten Einrichtungen und Gebräuchen hing. Darum behielt er das Kirchenjahr bei. Alles kam ihm darauf an, daß das Wort Gottes im Gottesdienst zur Geltung kam. Er sagte die bekannten Worte und Wahrheiten: „Ein Christ soll wissen, daß auf Erden kein größer Heiligtum ist denn Gottes Wort; denn auch das Sakrament selbst durch Gottes Wort gemacht und gebenedeiet und geheiligt wird und wir alle auch dadurch geistlich geboren und zu Christen geweiht werden.“ (X, 2167.) In seiner grundlegenden „Deutschen Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes“ sagte er bald am Anfang: „Weil alles Gottesdienstes das größte und vornehmste Stück ist Gottes Wort predigen und lehren, halten wir's mit dem Predigen und Lesen also.“ (X, 233.) Als die Schloßkirche zu Torgau eingeweiht wurde und er die Weihpredigt hielt, sagte er darin — und dieses Wort stand auch zu meiner Freude in großen Buchstaben als eins der Mottos in der in mehrfacher Hinsicht interessanten Ausstellung der neueren kirchlichen Kunst auf der Century of Progress-Ausstellung in Chicago —: „Dies neue Haus werde dahin gerichtet, daß nichts anderes darin geschehe, denn daß unser lieber Herr selbst mit uns rede durch sein heiliges Wort und wir wiederum mit ihm reden durch Gebet und Lobgesang.“ (XII, 1962.) Da haben wir aus Luthers eigenem Munde die oben zitierte Melanchthonsche Ausführung über sacramentum und sacrificium. Alles Liturgische hat nach Luther nur eine sekundäre, dienende Stellung im Verhältnis zum Worte Gottes. Das muß mit ganzem, vollem Ernste in der lutherischen Kirche überall erkannt und festgehalten werden. Das ist das oberste Prinzip, wenn ich



so sagen darf, das sich mit zahlreichen Aussprüchen Luthers belegen läßt. Aber Luther behielt nun dieses andere, das Liturgische, bei, zog es in den Dienst des Evangeliums, um alle Stücke des Gottesdienstes zur Geltung zu bringen und um den Gottesdienst auch äußerlich schön und würdig zu gestalten. Er behielt bei den ganzen Gang des Gottesdienstes, und jeder, der Luthers „Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes“ liest oder in unserm englischen Gesangbuch dem Gang des sogenannten Common Service folgt, „The Order of Morning Service, or the Communion“, erkennt sofort, daß das Schema der Messe im lutherischen Gottesdienst geblieben ist, aber frei von allem päpstlichen Mißbrauch. Er behielt das Kirchenjahr bei und im Gang des Kirchenjahrs die alten Perikopen, weil er wußte, wie sehr der gemeine Mann an diesen alten Texten hing, obwohl er manches an ihrer Auswahl aussetzen hatte. Aber er sorgte auch dafür, daß der römische Mißbrauch mit den vielen Heiligentagen in der lutherischen Kirche nicht fortgeführt wurde. Er behielt die römischen Kirchengebäude bei, und die lutherische Kirche an gar manchen Orten ließ in den mittelalterlichen Kirchen sogar die Kunstwerke stehen, die mit dem römischen Mißbrauch äußerlich verbunden waren, wie das Sakramentshäuschen des großen Künstlers Adam Kraft in der St. Lorenzkirche zu Nürnberg, aber frei von allem Mißbrauch. Luther nahm altkirchliche und mittelalterliche Gesänge, wie die Vitsfahrtslitanei „Gott der Vater wohn' uns bei“, herüber; aber er hat sie „gebeßert und christlich korrigiert“. Er behielt zunächst die römischen Priestergewänder bei und sagte in seiner aufrichtigen, verständigen Weise: „Wir lassen die Meßgewänder, Altar, Lichter noch bleiben, bis sie alle werden oder uns gefällt zu ändern. Wer aber hier anders will fahren, lassen wir geschehen.“ (X, 235.) Er ließ die Orgel bestehen und den Altargefang; denn er war nicht „der Meinung, daß durchs Evangelium sollten alle Künste zu Boden geschlagen werden und vergehen, wie etliche Übergeistliche vorgeben; sondern ich wollte alle Künste, sonderlich die Musit, gern sehen im Dienste des, der sie gegeben und geschaffen hat“. (X, 1424.) Er behielt manches bei, was ihm vielleicht gar nicht besonders gefiel, aber was ohne Mißbrauch beibehalten werden konnte, wenn nur immer das Evangelium freigegeben wurde und die Predigt des Evangeliums das Hauptstück des Gottesdienstes bildete. Die reformierte Kirche hingegen, weil das römische Kirchenjahr mit seinen vielen Gedächtnis-, Heiligen- und Fasttagen gemißbraucht wurde, verwarf das ganze Kirchenjahr und hat jetzt noch (mit Ausnahme der liturgisch gerichteten anglikanischen Kirche) kein Kirchenjahr. In der reformierten Kirche, besonders auch bei den reformiert gerichteten Puritanern unsers Landes, ist der Sonntag, der an die Stelle des alttestamentlichen Sabbats getreten sein soll, der alles beherrschende Feiertag, der in geselliger Weise gefeiert wird. Die alten Perikopen wurden abgeschafft, und Zwingli fing am 1. Januar 1519 an, über das erste Kapitel St. Matthäi zu predigen. Die Bilder, die Lichter, die Orgel wurden aus dem Gotteshause verbannt als antichristlicher

Unfug; die Gemeinde durfte zwar singen, aber keine von Menschen gedichteten Lieder, keine man-made hymns, sondern nur die Psalmen, die in den verschiedenen Theilen der reformierten Kirche in Versmaße gebracht wurden. Die Gewänder und die schönen Paramente wurden ohne weiteres abgetan. Statt des Altars wurde ein bloßer, einfacher Tisch gebraucht, statt der Kanzel ein Pult. Das Kirchengebäude, namentlich in manchen Theilen der reformierten Kirche, in unserm Lande zum Beispiel in den Neuenglandstaaten, bestand aus vier kahlen, weißen Wänden.

Nachdem wir so die drei kirchlichen Richtungen kurz skizzirt haben, wollen wir auf eine Reihe einzelner Punkte eingehen, wie sie durch die liturgischen Bewegungen der Gegenwart nahegelegt werden, und zu erkennen suchen, wie die lutherische Kirche die Aufgabe hat, in unserer Zeit und in unserm Lande den rechten Mittelweg zu gehen, wenn sie den Prinzipien der lutherischen Reformation treu bleiben und einerseits den übertriebenen Ritualismus und Formalismus und andererseits den verkehrten Subjektivismus und die unkirchliche Formlosigkeit im Gottesdienste vermeiden will. In unserm Lande ringen eben drei gewaltige Mächte auf geistigem, geistlichem und kirchlichem Gebiet miteinander. Da ist auf der einen Seite der Calvinismus, wie er in allen uns umgebenden Sekten in stärkerer oder feinerer Weise sich findet, auf der andern Seite der Romanismus, und die römische Kirche macht, wie in jedem Lande, so auch in dem unsrigen, die größten Anstrengungen, zur Anerkennung und Herrschaft zu gelangen; in der Mitte steht das Luthertum fest auf dem Worte Gottes und den darauf gegründeten Bekenntnissen der lutherischen Kirche. Diese drei Richtungen zeigen sich vor allem in der Lehre; und was die reformierten Sekten unsers Landes lehren, wie sie von Gottes Wort abweichen, ist jetzt nicht weiter darzulegen. Wie ferner die römische Kirche in der Lehre das Antichristentum und der Papst der in der Schrift geweisagte und von unsern Bekenntnissen klar erkannte Antichrist ist, ist auch jetzt nicht weiter auszuführen. Aber diese Gegensätze zeigen sich auch auf dem Gebiete der Kirchenordnung und der Liturgie, und man darf ja nicht meinen, daß äußere Ordnungen, liturgische Gebräuche, nie etwas mit der Lehre zu tun hätten. Gewiß, sie sind an sich Mittel Dinge, Adiaphora. Aber die Kirchengeschichte hat oft genug gezeigt, wie gerade auch in äußerlichen Dingen, in Kirchengebräuchen und Zeremonien, die falsche Lehre zum Ausdruck kommt und wie solche Formen, Gebräuche und Zeremonien, die an sich Mittel Dinge sind, leicht dazu führen können, die falsche Lehre zu stützen, und wie das, was erst als ein äußerlicher Gebrauch eingeführt wird, den man annehmen oder wieder fallen lassen kann, bald von dem zweiten und dritten Geschlechte angesehen wird als etwas, was so sein soll und sein muß. Darum gilt es, daß die lutherische Kirche auch in solchen Fragen ihre Grundsätze festhält, den rechten biblischen, lutherischen Mittelweg geht und auf der einen Seite den Calvinismus und auf der andern Seite den Romanismus meidet.

Wir haben oben betont, daß im lutherischen Gottesdienst das Wort Gottes das Zentrum ist und bleiben muß. Als darum Luther als Reformator auftrat, war ihm alles um das Wort, um das Evangelium, zu tun, und gegenüber der mittelalterlichen römischen Messe hat Luther in seiner „Deutschen Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes“, die dann im großen und ganzen vorbildlich wurde für die guten lutherischen Agenden und Kirchenordnungen des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, einen rechten, wirklichen Gemeindegottesdienst gestaltet, in welchem die sakramentalen Akte den Mittelpunkt bilden, aber umgeben sind von den sakrifiziellen Akten. Dabei hat Luther die äußerlichen Formen des Gottesdienstes gewahrt. Er folgte den Anweisungen der Schrift, daß in den Gottesdiensten alles „ehrllich und ordentlich“ zu gehen soll, 1 Kor. 14, 40, *εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν*, „anständig und in guter Ordnung“, „decently and in order“; und das ist nun eben das rechte Charakteristikum der lutherischen Kirche, die auch in diesem Stücke nichts anderes als die Fortsetzung der alten christlichen Kirche ist. Die lutherische Kirche, um mit den äußerlichen Dingen anzufangen, pflegt ein schönes, würdiges Gotteshaus, und alles im Gotteshaus soll würdig gestaltet sein, zur Ehre Gottes und zur Erbauung der Gemeinde dienen. Die äußerlichen Formen des Gotteshauses sind, wie sie sich im Laufe der Zeit entwickelt haben, die bekannten Baustile, namentlich der romanische und der gotische Stil. Im Gotteshause wird alles vermieden, was die Andacht und Erbauung stört; aber alle Gaben der Kunst, die Gott den Menschen geschenkt hat, werden im Interesse des Gottesdienstes verwendet. So wird das Gotteshaus geschmückt mit einem Altar als dem Tisch des Herrn, von dem aus das heilige Abendmahl ausgeteilt wird, mit einer Kanzel, von der aus der Prediger das Wort Gottes verkündigt, mit einem Lesepult, von dem aus er das Wort Gottes verliest, mit einem Taufstein, an dem die Taufe vollzogen wird. Alles soll schönes, würdiges, kirchliches Gepräge haben, nicht profane Kunst sein, Produkt des profanen Kunstgewerbes. Auf dem Altar steht das Kreuzifix als das schöne Sinnbild des Gekreuzigten, die Altargeräte sind in schönen, passenden Formen gebildet, der Altar wie die Kanzel werden mit passender Bekleidung oder Paramenten versehen, verschiedenfarbig, wie dies die verschiedenen Zeiten des Kirchenjahres mit sich bringen, die Orgel dient dem Gemeindegesang und hat ihre passende Stelle da, wo sie nicht die Aufmerksamkeit von der Hauptsache ablenkt. Der Prediger und Liturg trägt ein besonderes Gewand, um seine äußerliche Person zu verbergen, ohne daß diesem Gewand eine besondere Bedeutung beigemessen wird. Der Altar und die Wände sind mit passenden Farben oder biblischen Bildern und kirchlichen Symbolen geschmückt, die auch dem einfachen Mann verständlich sind; die Fenster halten die rechte Mitte, sind, wenn es die finanziellen Verhältnisse der Gemeinde gestatten, nicht einfaches Glas, sondern Kunstglas, sind nicht, ebensowenig wie die Farben der Wände,

zu hell und schreiend, aber auch nicht zu düster und dunkel, um dem Gotteshause einen mysteriösen Charakter zu verleihen. Wenn wir dann den Gang des Gottesdienstes ins Auge fassen, so folgen die einzelnen Stücke nicht willkürlich aufeinander, werden nicht jeden Sonntag verändert, sondern haben einen gewissen, festen Aufbau und Gang: Introitus, Kyrie, Gloria, Kredo, Halleluja, Hosanna usw.; alle Stücke stammen letzten Grundes aus der Schrift. Die Reihe der Gottesdienste ist nicht eintönig und einförmig, sondern befolgt das sogenannte Kirchenjahr, um die großen Thaten Gottes zum Heile der Welt der Gemeinde zu verkündigen und sie zur Aneignung dieses Heils und zum Lob und Dank dafür aufzufordern. Der Prediger ist nicht eine von der Gemeinde unterschiedene Person mit besonderer kirchlicher Macht und Gewalt, sondern er ist im Auftrag der Gemeinde ihr Verkündiger des Wortes Gottes und Verwalter der Sakramente. In der Abendmahlsfeier ist der sakramentliche Akt umgeben von schönen sakrifiziellen Akten: Präfation, Sanctus, Vaterunser, Nunc Dimittis usw.; und die ganze liturgische Komposition dieser Feier macht, richtig und würdig ausgeführt, einen erhebenden Eindruck. Der Chor ist nicht eine selbständige Größe, etwa ein Mittelglied zwischen dem Prediger und der Gemeinde, eine Art niederer Geistlichkeit, sondern ein Teil der Gemeinde. Die Lieder, die die Gemeinde singt, sind Kirchenlieder, church hymns; das heißt, es sind wirklich Lieder, volkstümlicher poetischer Ausdruck dessen, was allen Christen gemeinsam ist; und es sind Kirchenlieder, die die großen Thaten des Evangeliums besingen, so, wie sie durch die Schrift gegeben sind und im Glauben der Kirche leben. Die Musik, nach der diese Lieder gesungen werden, ist wiederum würdevoll und kirchlich, und der ganze Gottesdienst ist und soll so gestaltet sein, daß die Gemeinde das Wort und Bekenntnis Davids zu dem ihrigen macht: „Eins bitte ich vom HErrn, das hätte ich gerne, daß ich im Hause des HErrn bleiben möge mein Leben lang, zu schauen die schönen Gottesdienste des HErrn und seinen Tempel zu besuchen“, Ps. 27, 4; daß sie mit den Kindern Korah in dem Psalter, dem Gesang- und Gebetbuch der alttestamentlichen Gemeinde, ausruft und singt: „Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen, HErr Zebaoth! Meine Seele verlangt und sehnet sich nach den Vorhöfen des HErrn“, Ps. 84, 2. 3; und daß sie der Weisung und Mahnung des heiligen Apostels nachkommt: „Lasset das Wort Christi unter euch reichlich wohnen in aller Weisheit! Lehret und vermahnet euch selbst mit Psalmen und Lobgesängen und geistlichen, lieblichen Liedern und singet dem HErrn in eurem Herzen!“ Kol. 3, 16. L. F.

## The Story of the German Bible.

A Contribution to the Quadricentennial of Luther's Translation.

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### I. The First Contact of German People with the Gospel.

Among the many remarkable books which were produced during the golden age of Latin literature there is none which in point of interest and appeal exceeds the little book of forty-six short chapters written by Tacitus and entitled *De Germania* (an account of the country of Germany). In this book he gives the general boundaries of the country inhabited by the Germanic tribes; he describes the physical and mental characteristics of these strange Northern people, the sources of their wealth, their military equipment and prowess, the influence and sacred character of their women, their gods and their modes of worship, their assemblies, councils, and magistrates, their marriage customs and the training of their children, their funeral customs, and many other interesting features of the various tribes and their manner of living.

It is this country, as described by Tacitus, to which our attention is first directed in considering the story of the German Bible. It was at the end of the first century a country which extended from the Vosges Mountains in the southwest to the great Russian steppes in the east, from the Alps to the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. At that time the many tribes enumerated by Tacitus were roughly divided into two large groups — the West Germanic tribes, with the Teutons, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Longobards as larger subdivisions, and the East Germanic tribes, which consisted chiefly of the Goths and the Scandinavians. Concerning the members of all these tribes the Roman historians are unanimous in stating that they were a splendid race of people, with large and powerful bodies, blue eyes, and blond hair, which often fell to their shoulders in heavy waves. They were a martial people, well versed in the arts of war, in which the young men were exercised from the days of their adolescence. When the Cimbri and the Teutons, between 113 and 102 B. C., instituted their campaign against Rome, it took the ablest generals of Italy to effect their overthrow, and the very names of the barbarian invaders were sufficient to fill the hearts of the inhabitants of the Italian cities with fear.

According to the unanimous verdict of Roman writers, the Germanic tribes excelled in many of the social virtues, having only one grievous vice to mar their reputation, namely, that of gambling, with which was often associated that of drinking to excess. Their pantheon was associated with the powers of nature, chiefly with the sun and the earth. Their chief god was Wotan, or Odin, he who governed the world and controlled the fate of men; he it was who



granted victory to the valiant warriors and received the heroes that fell in battle into the great hall of heaven, his Valhalla. Wotan's wife was known as Frigga, his companion in controlling the destinies of the world and its inhabitants. She was in particular the protectress of the home and the hearth and the defender of matrons. Wotan's son was known as Donar, or Thor, he who rode the clouds and directed the lightning, the god both of fertility and of peaceful pursuit. The third great male god of the Germanic pantheon was Ziu, or Tyr, the one-armed god of battle, whose chief function consisted in carrying out the commands of Wotan. The goddess of love was known as Freya. The motherly divinity, the special goddess of earth, was Nerthus, she who personally supervised the annual revival of the earth to bring forth its fruit. The mythology of the Germanic tribes, as it grew up around these chief gods and goddesses and the many lesser divinities and spirits, is extremely fascinating, so that it has become the subject of many poetical and musical masterpieces, from the earliest days to the last century, when the German composer Wagner used its material for his great cycle of musical dramas.

At the beginning of the second century after Christ the tribes in contact with Roman civilization were naturally those along the Rhine. *Germania Inferior* (Lower Germany) was west of the Lower Rhine, now a part of the Netherlands and of Belgium, while *Germania Superior* (Upper Germany) was farther up the river and on both sides, including quite a few rather respectable towns. The numerous evidences of the Roman occupation along the Rhine offer some of the most fruitful sources of archeological investigation concerning the contact between the Roman cohorts and the Germanic tribes, also on the other side of the so-called *limes*, or boundary zone. If we add to this the fairly extensive historical information, we may well draw interesting conclusions as to the mutual influence between the proud Romans and the equally proud Germanic peoples. Among the tribes chiefly concerned were the Triboci, whose chief city was called by the Romans *Argentoratum* (now Strassburg), the Nemetes, whose chief city was *Noviomagus* (now Speyer); the Vangiones, in whose territory were located *Bormetomagus* (now Worms) and *Mogontiacum* (now Mainz); and the Ubii, with *Colonia Agrippina* (now Koeln or Cologne) as their metropolis.

The very proximity of these tribes to centers of Roman culture and influence would naturally have a tendency to shape their thinking to a degree. But to this incidental contact must be added the more permanent influence which was exerted by young men of the Germanic tribes under Roman control who were enlisted under the banner of the empire as soldiers. It is stated that the Italic cohort stationed at Caesarea (Acts 10, 1) often had Teutonic soldiers in its ranks, and an ancient tradition would even make the captain of the soldiers under

the cross of Jesus a member of some Germanic tribe. We may say that it is more than conjecture to state that Roman soldiers who had embraced Christianity returned to the home of their fathers in the country along the Rhine and made known the truth which they had learned in the capital city or in some barracks of the praetorian guard in the various provinces of the great empire. More than incidental contacts would be furnished also by the traveling merchants who visited not only the border cities, but under favorable circumstances penetrated far into the country beyond the Rhine, visiting the homes of many of the proud chieftains of Germanic tribes.

Still more important and significant, however, is another factor, namely, the contact with the Christian centers of Gaul and the missionary activities which were conducted by the first congregations along the Rhone. Even if we do not credit the tradition which declares that mission-work in Southern Gaul was begun in the days of Paul, we have positive historical proof of the fact that the Gospel was brought to the valley of the Rhone by the middle of the second century, for Irenaeus, Bishop of Lugdunum (Lyons), was the successor of Pothinus in the year 178, having been distinguished as presbyter of the congregation even before his elevation to the office of bishop, which he administered till the beginning of the third century. That Irenaeus was not merely a theologian of the first rank, but also a practical churchman with a great interest in missionary effort appears, for example, from the fact that he learned Celtic in order to preach to the heathen in the vicinity of Lyons in their mother tongue. And the fact that the congregation of this city is known in history for the martyrdoms of 177 A. D. marks it as one which was zealous for the extension of the Church of Jesus Christ. Now, a glance at the map will show that the valley of the Rhone would offer a fine opportunity for communication with the northern country and down the valley of the Rhine.

No matter how far these conjectures are in keeping with actual historical facts, the early accounts of some of the border cities indicate that Christianity was brought here at a fairly early date. Of Mainz (Mayence, Castellum Mogontiacum) the old legend says the Apostle Paul himself came there in 58 A. D., with Crescens and Luke, with whose assistance he established mission-work in the city and neighborhood. The first reasonably certain evidence concerning a bishopric in this city places it before the middle of the fifth century. Concerning Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicorum) the early accounts have it that the Gospel was brought here by Lucius and Narcissus in the second and third centuries. The name of its first bishop was Zosimus, at the beginning of the fourth century. With regard to Koeln (Cologne, Colonia Agrippina) it is certain that it had a Christian congregation before the beginning of the fourth century, and its

importance was recognized throughout the following centuries, beginning with the conversion of Chlodwig. The city of Trier (Treves, Augusta Trevirorum) is likewise known as the seat of a very early bishopric, and there is some reason for assuming that Strassburg (Strataburgum) also had a Christian congregation before the end of the fourth century. In Lower Germany, Tongern was evidently the seat of a bishop at an early age, for one is mentioned for the year 315, and it seems that Maternus of Cologne was the founder of this diocese.

That the preaching of the Gospel was well established in some of these centers of population before the beginning of the fourth century is evident from the records of the Council of Arles, in Southern Gaul, held in 314 A. D. Among the signatures affixed to some of the resolutions passed by this council are some of men not only from York, London, and Lincoln, in Great Britain, but also of Bishop Maternus and Deacon Macrinus of Cologne and of Bishop Agroecius and Exorcist Felix of Treves. This affords evidence enough that the Gospel had gotten a foothold in the border provinces, that Christianity was known in these remote sections of the Roman Empire even before the edict of Constantine the Great which acknowledged the Christian religion as the official religion and before the first great church council at Nicea, in 325.

Whether the Gospel at this time was widely known among the natives of the country surrounding the cities named or whether it was restricted chiefly to the Roman soldiers and civil officers cannot be determined at this time, since reliable historical evidence is not available. For the same reason it would practically be an idle speculation whether preaching was ever done in the language of the native Germanic tribes before the Council of Nicea. Up to the present time no evidence to that effect has been submitted on the basis of either historical or archeological sources.

## II. Ulfilas and the First Germanic Translation of the Bible.

Among the East Germanic tribes referred to above there was also the mighty nation of the Goths, which for a time occupied choice sections of Europe from the Caspian Sea to the Baltic Sea. The western section of this great nation, known as the Visigoths, was located along the Vistula River, from where they gradually, during the migration of nations, moved in a southeasterly direction, toward the Carpathians and along the Dnieper River. Their first clash with the Romans occurred in 251 in Moesia, where the Roman emperor Decius fell in battle. At the end of the sixth decade of the third century they undertook a campaign against the lower Balkan Peninsula and also against the provinces of Asia Minor, until they were dispersed by Claudius II in 269.

The ways of God's providence and mercy are surely strange; for we are told by the great historian Philostorgios that during the campaign of the Goths in Cappadocia in 264 some Christians of Sadagolthina, near the city of Parnassus, on the River Halys, were led away as captives by the invaders. Among these Christian captives were the grandparents of a man who played a very important part in the Christianizing of the Goths; for the mother of Ulfilas (Wulfila, Urphilas = Little Wolf) was a Cappadocian, and a Christian, while his father was a member of the Gothic tribe.

It surely speaks well for the strength of his mother's Christian character that Ulfilas, who was born about 310 A. D. (311 and 313 are also given by some writers), evidently was brought up by her as a Christian. We know that he was a lector, or reader of lessons in the church services, in his younger years; he was made bishop when he was thirty years old. His chief biographer writes that Ulfilas met the ancient teacher Eusebius of Nicomedia at the occasion of an embassy of the Gothic tribe at the emperor's court. His consecration as bishop took place in the year 341 at a synod in Antioch. Some writers state that he was not a metropolitan, or city bishop, but merely a chorepiscopus, or rural bishop. No matter which report is true, it is clear that Ulfilas was a missionary bishop (*episcopus in partibus infidelium*), the first one of this rank in the Gothic country, on the farther side of the Danube.

It seems that Ulfilas now was bishop of a congregation, in addition to his work as missionary, for about seven years. After this the heathen chief of one of the Gothic settlements compelled him and his congregation to cross the Danube and to settle in Roman territory, where Emperor Constantius granted them some land at Plevna, near Nicopolis, in Moesia. Here Ulfilas performed his life-work, being bishop for at least another thirty-three years, part of the time also a *iudex*, or judge. It is reported that he visited a council held in Constantinople in 360, where he signed the confession of the Church. During the next decades he suffered much from persecutions, especially in 369 and 372. It seems that he joined the ranks of the Arians, since the Goths were during the next century very strong defenders of the heresy of Arius. But even so he was ready to discuss the difficulty in doctrine with the orthodox party, for it was due to his influence that a council was called to convene in Constantinople in 382. It is said that his death occurred during this council, shortly after he had made his confession of the orthodox faith.

There is little value, in the present short history of the Germanic Bible, in discussing at length the doctrinal position of the great "Apostle of the Goths." It is true that Eusebius of Nicomedia, who consecrated him, was a strong defender of Arius, even if he did not share the latter's denial of the deity of Christ to its full extent, and

therefore Ulfilas may have shared the position of his older friend. According to a creed which is ascribed to him by Auxentius, he believed in subordinationism, that is, the opinion that the Son is subordinate to the Father; and not only this, but that the Holy Ghost is subordinate to the Son: "not God, not Lord, not on the same plane with the faithful servant Christ, rather subordinate to Him." However, Ulfilas evidently was not a strong defender of Arianism, and reliable reports indicate that he finally subscribed a confession of the truth. In his translation of the Bible into the Gothic language the passage Phil. 2, 6 is ambiguous.

All this, however, does not detract from the glory which rightly is given to Ulfilas as the translator of the Bible into the language of the Goths, the first Germanic translation of the Scriptures. The beginning of this stupendous undertaking is associated with the conversion of Fritigern, a Visigoth chieftain, although Ulfilas may have made a translation of certain sections even before that event. It was not an easy thing to attempt. The Goths at this time had no real written language, although the runic script of the Scandinavians, with whom they had originally been associated as East Germanic tribes, was known among them. Since Ulfilas required a language that could really be used to express the manifold truths of the Bible, he invented a written alphabet consisting of Greek, Latin, and runic letters, with a total of twenty-four signs. He evidently began with the gospels, as is concluded from their peculiar uniformity of style. According to the statement of Philostorgios, Ulfilas did not translate, at least not for public use, the four Books of the Kings (1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings), because he feared that they might inflame the martial spirit of the Gothic people. Certain fragments containing parts of these books are said to have been discovered.

Ulfilas was eminently fitted for the work of translator since his office of lector in public services years before had made it necessary for him to provide a word explanation of the Greek text in use in the churches. A sufficient number of texts was always available, since the position of Ulfilas was tributary to the see of Constantinople, where one or more versions of the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Old Testament, were in use, and where plenty of copies of the New Testament could readily be obtained. Quite naturally, the work of Ulfilas shows numerous loan words and semantic borrowings, that is, formation of words in the new language based upon the words in the original. In order to make his translation complete, the translator in such cases "often attempted to express the idea by using a native word or combination of words, at times in word-for-word translations, at other times more freely by native circumlocutions. These semantic borrowings represent largely ideas that have not previously found



adequate expression in the native language, and this probably accounts for the large number of compounds in this type of words."<sup>1</sup>)

The Gothic translation furnished by Ulfilas soon became widely known, especially on account of the strength of the nation and the growing menace of the various Germanic tribes to the Roman Empire. But the inherent merits of the rendering cannot be denied, undoubtedly a factor which caused it to become widespread in a very short time. Chrysostom reports that he took part in a service in Constantinople, in 398/9, in which a Gothic sermon was delivered and the lessons were read in Gothic. The Gothic Bible was in use for several centuries, and its influence is almost incalculable in the history of Germanic translations.

Among the manuscripts which have been made as copies of the translation of Ulfilas there are some of world renown. The Silver Codex (*Codex Argenteus*) is a manuscript of the fifth or sixth century, written on purple-colored parchment, in silver and gold letters, with splendid illumination. Of the original 330 pages only 187 have been preserved. The manuscript is in the library of the university at Upsala, Sweden, and contains the gospels. The *Codex Gissensis* was found in an Egyptian village in the neighborhood of the ancient city of Antinoe. It consists of a double leaf of parchment, with a fragment of the gospels in Gothic and Latin. All the other manuscripts are treasures of the monastery of Bobbio, in Liguria. There is the *Codex Carolinus*, consisting of four leaves with fragments of the Epistle to the Romans. The Codices of Ambrose, now transferred to Milan, have a total of 120 readable pages in one section, which contain fragments of the Pauline letters. A second section or manuscript has 154 pages; here Romans and Philemon are missing, but Second Corinthians is complete. A third section or manuscript contains fragments from Matthew and a fourth fragments from Nehemiah, the only Old Testament section that has come down to us in manuscript form.

Of course, all available copies of the translation have been carefully collated, studied, and published by various scholars, such as Streitberg, Balg, and Braune. Most large universities in America and abroad offer courses in Gothic, especially in connection with comparative philology of the Germanic languages. The interest attaching to this study is not merely archeological or linguistic, but also quite practical, since every translation of the Bible is at the same time and in some degree an interpretation, and it is not likely that any lover of the Holy Scriptures will be surfeited by a study of this type.

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1) Cp. Kroesch, "Semantic Borrowing in Old English," in *Studies in English Philology*, 50 ff.

### III. The Formal Establishment of Christianity in Germany.

As we have seen, there were Christian congregations established among certain German tribes, in cities founded by the Romans in the midst of Germanic nations, before the end of the third century. Among these cities Koeln, Mainz, Speier, Augsburg, and Tongern are especially noteworthy. From all that we knew of these congregations, their work was done chiefly, if not exclusively, in the Latin language. It is true that some mission-work was done, for there is an ancient record that Bishop Maternus of Cologne began the work at Tongern; but Christianity was evidently a very weak plant on any part of German soil about the time of the Council of Nicea, in 325.

About this time, however, a consecrated missionary appears in history, whose work proved an inspiration to many followers in Western Europe. This was *Martin of Tours*. Born about 316 in the Roman province of Pannonia as the son of heathen parents, he soon came under the influence of Christianity and was baptized at the age of eighteen. For five years he served in the army of Constantine, after which time he determined to devote his life to the spread of Christianity. A zealous defender of the orthodox truth, he was scourged and imprisoned for reproving the Arian heresies confessed among the Lombards, or Longobards. After being set free, he spent some years as a hermit on the island of Gallinaria, and in 370 he gathered a company of monks about him to establish a monastery near Poitiers. The next year he was made Archbishop of Tours. He organized his diocese along the lines of the monastic system and inspired many young men with his zeal.

Martin's evangelical activity met with great success, especially since he laid his plans with almost military exactness. His disciples went out into every part of Gaul, also into the northern section, among the Germanic tribes. He was an eminently practical man, who adhered to a simple faith resting upon the confession of the Triune God and Jesus as the Redeemer of the world. His influence was felt for centuries after his death, and even to-day his memory is revered throughout France. He died about 400, at Candes. November 11 is the day devoted to his memory, and it is for this reason that Luther, who was baptized on November 11, received the name Martin. One of the interesting stories told of Martin of Tours is that which relates that he cut the one mantle which he possessed into two pieces in order to provide a poor man with some covering against the cold.

It was almost a century later that the fame of Martin played an important rôle in the further spread of Christianity among a Germanic tribe. The Frankish king Chlodwig, who in 486 had broken the last remnant of Roman power in Gaul, was, in 493, married to Chlotilde, daughter of the Burgundian king Chilperich. The Burgundian princess exerted all her powers to win her husband for the

orthodox Christian religion, and the stories of Martin of Tours proved a very powerful instrument in her efforts. The result was that Chlodwig was baptized on Christmas Day of the year 496 by Bishop Remigius of Reims, who addressed to him the well-known words: "Bow thy head in humility, proud Sigambrian; reverence henceforth what thou hast burned, burn what thou hast revered."<sup>2</sup>)

It was this king whose name appears in the story of *Fridold*, or *Fridolin*, the "first apostle of the Alemannians." This zealous missionary, who was a native of either Ireland or Scotland, was ever in the forefront in the battle against paganism. It was about the end of the fifth century that he landed in Gaul, through whose length and breadth he journeyed until he came to the home of Hilary of old, Pictavium, or Poitiers. Here he remained long enough to restore, with the aid of King Chlodwig, the burial-place of Hilary, and to convert the Arian bishop of the city and his congregation to Trinitarian orthodoxy. He then turned northward to find an island within the boundaries of Alemannia surrounded by the waters of the Rhine. He began his search in Alsace, then journeyed up the Rhine to Switzerland. Finally he was shown an island above Basel, near Sanctio (Saeckingen), which he succeeded in acquiring with the aid of the Frankish court. Here a village soon arose, in spite of the opposition of the natives, with its Church of St. Hilary, and here Fridolin completed his life-work, dying about 511.

Another century went by without headway in the work of missions. But then came a long period of intensive activity in Christianizing German lands, many of the missionaries coming over from the British Isles, especially from Ireland, which was for centuries like a garden of God in bringing forth the choicest fruits. About 543 there was born in Leinster, Ireland, a boy who was destined to become one of the most learned and eloquent missionaries of all times. His name was *Columban*. While he was still a youth, he became interested in missions, and he soon made this study the goal of all his interests with all the intensity of a nature filled with the love of Christ. Having gained twelve young men as his disciples and assistants, he set out for France, where he proceeded to the Vosges Mountains, whose inhabitants were as yet without the Gospel. He founded the monasteries of Angrey, Luxeuil, and Fontaines, to be the ecclesiastical and educational centers of his missionary activities. At the same time he was fearless in denouncing the vices prevalent at the Burgundian court. This led to his expulsion from France. He fled to Italy, only to encounter new difficulties. For when he charged Pope Boniface and the general council with departing from the faith of the

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2) This story has lately been discredited, and the baptism of Chlodwig is placed in 507.

apostles, he was again forced to flee. Going to Metz, he proceeded from there to Mainz and then up the Rhine to the Suevi and Alemanni, to whom he desired to preach the Gospel. Coming to the Lake of Zurich, he chose Tuggen as the basis of his operations. He met with so much opposition that he made little headway. Finally he went on to Bregenz, on Lake Constance, where there were still traces of earlier missionary activity. But he again had to flee, due to the enmity of King Thierry of Burgundy. He journeyed to Italy and was there given a piece of land called Bobbio. Here he erected his celebrated abbey, which was for centuries a center of learning and a stronghold of orthodoxy. Here he also died, on November 21, 615.

Among the foremost of the twelve disciples who accompanied Columban to France was *Gallus*, born in Ireland about the year 560. He worked by the side of his master with untiring energy, sharing all the difficulties and hardships of the life of a fearless confessor. In 610 Gallus followed Columban to Bregenz, where they found an old church, dating back to the time when the Romans had occupied the country. The duty of preaching the Gospel of Christ to the pagans, who were using the old church-building for their corrupt practises, was given to Gallus. With intense zeal and notable success he combated the pagan superstitions of the Alemanni of the neighborhood. When Columban had to flee, in 612, Gallus was prevented from accompanying him. He remained in Switzerland to regain his health. But he could not remain idle. Pushing farther into the wilderness, with only a deacon as his companion, he selected a site and founded the church and the monastery of St. Gall, from which place the Word of God was carried out into all parts of the Swiss mountains. The school of St. Gall became a very famous seat of learning for a number of centuries, and its library was as renowned as that of Bobbio. Gallus died at the age of ninety-five years, and his body was laid to rest in the monastery which he had founded.

Another pathfinder in the early work of missions in Germany was *Kilian*, who, like Columban and Gallus, hailed from Ireland, being born there about the year 644. Driven by a spirit of piety and a love for study, he entered monastic life in his native country. After some time he made a journey to Rome, on which he passed through Thuringia, then almost wholly pagan. He conceived the idea of devoting himself to the conversion of these heathen, and, with the consent of the Pope, he and his associates began to preach in Wuerzburg. After the work was here established, Kilian and two of his collaborators extended their activity over an ever-increasing area in East Franconia and Thuringia. He even succeeded in converting Duke Gozbert, thus opening the way for the complete Christianization of the two countries. But his fearless, uncompromising attitude

on matters of ethics as well as those of doctrine brought misfortune upon him and his work. He provoked the enmity of Geilenna, Gozbert's wife, who had formerly been the wife of Gozbert's brother, since he insisted that the duke must be separated from her. On this account Kilian was, at Geilenna's instigation, murdered in cold blood. But his work lived after him, so that he received the name "Apostle of Franconia." His work was later continued by Boniface.

The neighboring country of Bavaria was also visited by the mercy of God during the seventh century, the chief missionary in this case being *Emeran*. He was born of a noble family in Aquitania, a part of France. He received a good education and was consecrated as priest. He is said to have been Bishop of Poitiers during the first half of the seventh century. During this episcopal incumbency he worked out a plan according to which he might bring the Gospel to ancient Pannonia, the modern Roumania. But he was persuaded, almost by force, to remain in Bavaria, under the protection of Duke Theodo. This was in 649. Three years later, when he was about to set out on a journey to Rome, he was murdered by Lambert, son of the Duke of Egendorf, because Uta, the duke's daughter, falsely accused him of having violated her honor. But his innocence was established beyond a doubt, and so he received an honorable burial. And not only that, but his tomb became the religious center of the Church in Bavaria, and the 22d of September, the date of his murder, was designated to St. Emeran's Day.

The next man whose name must be placed on the honor roll of missionaries to German soil is *Willibrord*, who was born about 658 in Northumberland, England. He was trained in one of the fine monastic schools of England, and in 678 he went to Ireland in order to study under St. Egbert. It was in this year that an opening was made for mission-work among the Friesians, the northern neighbors of the Franks. Attempts to Christianize this tribe had been made by Lothair and Dagobert between 620 and 639. A mission had also been undertaken by the Bishop of Koeln. But the success of this work was short-lived, for after the death of Dagobert the Friesians relapsed into paganism, and the churches were destroyed. Other missionaries from England tried to introduce the Gospel anew. Wilfred came from Yorkshire and gained favor among the Friesians. King Aldgild gave him permission to preach and to baptize, and he is said to have gained many thousands for the Christian faith. The successor of Aldgild, however, proved unfriendly toward the Christian religion, considering it as one of the means to bring the country under the control of the Franks.

In 678 the southern part of Friesland actually came into the power of the Franks, and so a door was opened to Willibrord for the preaching of the Gospel. In 692 he received the so-called apostolic authoriza-



tion for his work, and his success about this time was so great that he was elected bishop of this diocese. He was then sent to Rome for consecration. Later he founded the monastery of Utrecht, where he intended to train recruits for further missionary work. After that he seems to have been engaged in founding congregations, till his success encouraged him to enter lands under Frankish control. In 706 he founded the monastery at Echternach, in the diocese of Treves, and another at Suestern, in the diocese of Maastricht, in 714. Radbod, successor to King Aldgild of Friesland, finally regained the territory taken by the Franks. Unfriendly as he was toward Christianity, he commanded that the priests be hunted out and the churches destroyed. In place of the Christian churches he erected heathen temples. It seemed that the entire work of Willibrord would be destroyed. But Radbod died in 719, and his successor, the younger Aldgild, made peace and opened his country to the Gospel once more. Willibrord returned to Utrecht and repaired the damages done there. He was joined by Winfried, or Bonifacius, of whom we shall presently hear more, and the two labored with great success until the death of Willibrord, about 739, at the age of eighty-one. He was buried in the abbey of Echternach, where he died, and was canonized almost immediately after his death.

We now come to the last great missionary who labored on German soil, in the western part of what is now the German Republic. This was *Winfried*, or Bonifacius, often called the "Apostle of Germany," although one deplores the fact that he was almost entirely under the domination of the Roman See. Winfried was born in Devonshire, England, in 680, his parents being people of distinction. He also received his clerical education in England, and his tact and prudence, together with his practical ability along executive lines, gave him a high standing in his community. His interest in mission-work was aroused when he heard Willibrord speak of its victories while the latter was on a visit to the British Isles.

In spite of the entreaties of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Winfried in 716 sailed for the Continent with three companions. Somewhat later he proceeded to Rome to gain the Pope's sanction for his proposed mission-work. Pope Gregory II received him kindly, found him orthodox, and readily sanctioned his mission. In this way was Winfried's relation to the Pope established, and it became one of the great motives of his career. As Winfried, now commonly known as Boniface, returned from Rome, he first of all hastened to Friesland, where he spent three years in assisting the aged Willibrord, Archbishop of Utrecht. Following the army of Karl Martel as far as Trier, he turned aside into Thuringia and then to Hessa, where he labored with good success. In 723 he was called to Rome, where the Pope made him Bishop Regionarius of Germany. It was at this

time that Boniface took the oath of obedience to Rome, by which he pledged himself, in an almost repulsive manner, to be guided in everything by the Pope.

In 725 Boniface was in Thuringia. Finding the soil very difficult to work, he sent a call for aid to England, which was so successful that more than a score of able assistants were rushed to his aid. Among these were also some women, who were to do mission-work among the members of their own sex. In 732 a new Pope mounted the papal throne, who lost no time in sending a delegation to Boniface to praise and encourage him in his work. He was made archbishop and thereby knit more closely than ever to the Roman See. In the same year Karl Martel defeated the Mohammedan hordes, thereby saving Europe for Christianity. In 738 Boniface was made papal legate of all Germany. He now reorganized Germany with dioceses of his own naming. He threw his influence in favor of the Pope also in the Gallican Church. He succeeded in conquering two bishops who were opposed to papal power, so that in the end his authority was supreme.

The redeeming feature in the character of Boniface was his active interest in missions. In 753 he made *Lullus* his successor, while he sailed down the Rhine with fifty men in order to do mission-work among the Friesians. Two years later, in June of the year 755, Boniface was conducting a meeting near the shores of the Zuyder Zee, when an armed host of pagans surrounded him. After commanding his young men not to offer resistance, he pillowed his head on a volume of the holy gospels and awaited the blow which ended his life. Thus was brought to a close the life of the most prominent churchman of the eighth century and one of the greatest directors of missions in the entire history of the Church. The foundation of missions in Germany had now been laid. It remained for the superstructure to be erected.

#### IV. The First Translations of Parts of the Bible in Germany.

There are no translations of the Bible or of parts of the Bible into Germanic languages extant of the first centuries of the Christian era except that made by Ulfilas for the Gothic people. One may conjecture of course, on the basis of occasional remarks, such as that of missionary methods pursued near Lugdunum (Lyons), in Gaul, that parts of the Scriptures were rendered into the vernacular at an early date to meet the needs of the natives who were brought into contact with the Gospel, even though most of such contacts may have been made through the medium of the Latin tongue. The comparatively small number of congregations of which we have records before the Council of Nicea does not encourage such conjectures to any large extent.

But during the missionary expansion movement undertaken between the days of Martin of Tours, about the middle of the fourth century, and Boniface, who died just after the middle of the eighth century, a large part of the work was done in the vernacular, at least by way of teaching the converts the fundamentals of the Christian religion. One would expect efforts along the line of translating to adhere fairly closely to the immediate needs of the work. These were associated, for one thing, with the work of the lector in public services, who would want to add a few words in the vernacular as he read the lessons of the day in Latin. This had been done even in the Jewish synagogues, especially in the countries of the Dispersion, where many of the hearers might not be familiar with the language in which the lessons were officially read, and it is said to have been the custom which suggested his entire translation of the Bible to Ulfilas. In the second place, the work of instructing the barbarians for baptism and church-membership required at least some use of the vernacular, chiefly by way of teaching the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in the language of the candidates.

It is just along these two lines that the first attempts at rendering parts of Scripture in the vernacular were made. From St. Paul in Carinthia came an interesting manuscript, two leaves of a gospel codex of the sixth to seventh century, with an interlinear translation in Old High German, written in the eighth century. A few verses from the Gospel of the Nativity of Christ, Luke 2, 1—10, will show the nature of this translation. We place the text in parallel columns:

Exiit edictum a Caesare Augusto.  
Et peperit filium suum primogeni-  
tum et pannis eum involvit et reclina-  
vit eum in praesepio.

Uz keanc kechuuit fone kheisure  
eruurdikemu (the modern *ehruur-  
digem*). Par (= *gebar*, bore) chindh  
ira eristporanaz, lachanum (= *La-  
ken*) inen piuuant, kesazte inan in  
parnin (in chripiun).

Even without a technical knowledge of Old High German one can follow the text with little difficulty, noting at the same time the number of loan words from the Latin, many of which have been retained to this day.

Another interesting document, one which shows, at least in part, what part of a catechism text was required at St. Gall, in Switzerland, in the eighth century. The Lord's Prayer, or *Pater Noster*, reads in this rendering:—

Fater unseer, thu pist in himile, uuihi namun dinan, qhueme rihhi din, uuerde uuillo diin, so in himile, sosa in erdu. prooth unseer emezzihi kip uns hiutu, oblaz uns sculdi unseero, so uuir oblazem uns sculdikem, enti ni unsih firleiti in khorunka, uzzet losi unsih fona ubile.

And the Apostolic Creed is just as interesting:—

Kilaubu in kot fater almahticun, kiscraft himiles enti erda. Enti in Jesum Christ sun inan ainacun, unseran truhtin, der inphangan ist fona uuihemu keiste, kiporan fona Mariun macadi euuikeru, kimartrot in kiualtiu Pilates, in crucu pislagan, tot enti picrapan, stehic in uuiizzi, in drittin

take erstoont fona totem, stehic in himil, sizit az zesuun cotes fateres al-mahtikin, dhana chuumftic ist sonen qhuekhe enti tote. Kilaubu in uuihan keist, in uuiha khirihhun catholica, uuihero kemeinitha, urlaz suntikero, feiskes urstodali, in liip euuikan, amen.

Here again even a cursory comparison of the various parts of the translation will convince one that the rendering is one of real merit, and that in spite of the fact that the translator was evidently handicapped by a lack of terms to express in German the words of the original Latin.

But the most valuable of these early documents is a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, known as the Monsee-Vienna Fragments. It was made at the beginning of the ninth century under the auspices of the Archbishop of Cologne, who was also abbot of the monastery at Monsee. When the monastery was discontinued, in 1786, its library was taken to Vienna, where this gospel manuscript has been studied by a number of scholars, notably by Endlicher and Hoffmann, by Massmann, and by Hench. The last-named published the results of his studies in an edition of 1891 entitled "*The Monsee Fragments*, newly collated text with introduction, notes, grammatical treatise and exhaustive glossary, and a photolithographic facsimile." This edition contains also other manuscripts of Monsee, but its most interesting sections are the fragments of the Gospel of St. Matthew. Prof. W. Walther (*Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*, 434 ff.), who places the translation into the eighth century, has some interesting remarks on content and language of the manuscript. It is a bilingual production, the Latin text being on the left side, the German on the right side, that is, on the next leaf. The translator was rather bold in his rendering of the Latin, for it was evidently his intention to offer not only idiomatic, but also beautiful German. He had some difficulty on account of the many participles in the Latin text. Sometimes he solved the difficulty in a very agreeable way, then again he followed the original almost slavishly. On the whole, however, the result is very satisfactory. We offer a few sections of the translation, with occasional explanatory remarks.

Matt. 12, 1-8: In deru ziti fuor Jesus in restitage (rest days, Sabbaths) after satim (*durch die Saat*, through the standing grain), sine iungarun auh uuaran hungrage (*hungrig*, hungry), bigunnun raufen diu ahar (*Ahren*, ears) enti ezan. Pharisera dhuo daz gasehante quuatun imo: "See dine gungirun tuoant daz sie ni mozun tuoan in feratagum (*Feiertagen*, festival days)." Enti aer quuat im (quoth to them): "Inu ni larut ir huuz David teta, duo inan hungarta enti dea mit imo uuarun? Hueo aer genc (*ging*, went) in daz gotes hus enti az uuzodbroth (*Gesetzbrot*, *Schaubrot*, showbread) daz er ezan ni muosa noh dea mit imo uuarun nibu dea einun euurta (*Wächter des Gesetzes*, *Priester*). Odho ni larut er in euu (*Gesetz*, law) daz dem uuehhatagum (*Wochentagen*, *Sabbattagen*, Sabbaths) dea euurta in demo temple bismizant (*beschmitzen*, *beslecken*, profane) restitac enti sint doh anu lastar (*Laster*, vices, faults)?" Ih sagem iu auh daz meor ist hear danne tempel. Ibu ir auh uuistit huaz ist "arm-haerzin uuillu enti nalles gelstar (*Steuer*, *Abgabe*, gift, sacrifice)" neo ni geschadot ir dem unscolom (*unschuldig*, innocent). Truhtin (*Herr*, lord) ist gauuisso (*gewisz*, surely) mannes sunu ioh restitaga.

Matt. 13, 44—50: Galih ist himilo rihhi gaberge (*Schatz*, treasure) gaborganemo (*geborgen*, hidden, safe) in acchre. So danne man diz findit enti gabirgit iz enti des memento (*freuen*, rejoice) gengit enti forchaufit (*verkauft*, sells) al so huuz so aer habet enti gachaufit den acchar. Auh ist galihsam (*gleich*, like) himilo rihhe demo suohhenti ist guote mari-greza (from Latin *margarita*, pearl), gene enti forchaufit al daz aer hapta enti gachaufit den. Auh ist galih himilo rihhi seginun (from Latin *sagena*, *Fischnetz*) in seu gasezziteru (*gesetzt*, cast), enti allero fischunno (kinds of fish) gahuuelihhes samnotin (*sammelten*, gathered). So diu danne fol uuarth, uz arduusan (*herausziehen*, draw out), enti dea bi stade (*Gestade*, shore) siczentun aruuelitun (*erwählten*, select) dea guotun in iro faz, dea ubilum auuar uurphun uz (*warfen sie aus*, cast them out). So uuidit in demo galidontin enti uueralti (from Latin *in consummatione saeculi*, when, at the end of the world, it will be dissected): quemant angila enti arscheidant (*scheiden*, divide) dea ubilun fone mittem dem rehtuuisigom (*das Recht wissend, gerecht*, just), enti lecchent (*legend*, placing) dea in fyures ovan, dar uuidit uuoft (*Heulen*, howling) enti zano gagram (*Knirschen*, gnashing).

Matt. 28, 16—20: Enti einlif sine jungirun fuorun (*fuhren*, journeyed) in Galilea in den berc, dar im Jesus kapot. Enti so si inan gasahun, hnigun (*knien*, kneel) za imo; einhuuelihhe danne iro ni foltruetun (*voll trauen*, to have full confidence). Enti gene duo Jesus nahor, sprah za im, quad (quoth): forgeban ist mir alles kauualt in himile enti en aerdu. Faret nu enti leret allo deota (*Menge, Volk*, people), taufente sie in nemin fateres enti sunes enti heilages gheistes. Leret sie kahaltan al so huuz so ih iu gaboot. enti see ih bim mit iu eo gatago (*Tage*, days) untaz entunge (*Endung*, ending or end) uueralti.

One could add many more sections to these interesting excerpts, but the examples given will suffice to give a good idea of the character of this work. Undoubtedly further attempts were made, and we may constantly expect scholars to find further material in the field of early translations of the Bible into some German dialect. This would be altogether analogous to the condition in England, where partial translations and poetical paraphrases of Biblical books were found as early as the seventh and eighth centuries, while the Venerable Bede, about the beginning of the eighth century, even translated the entire Gospel according to St. John into Anglo-Saxon.

### V. Tatian's Gospel Harmony in the First German Rendering.

As we continue our examination of early documents connected with the story of the Bible in various Germanic translations, we find one of unusual interest, namely an Old High-German rendering of the first harmony of the gospels of which we know, the so-called *Diatessaron* of Tatian.

Tatian was a writer of the second century. He was born in Assyria and grew up in heathenism. The splendid training in Greek literature and philosophy which he received was not able to satisfy his longing for the truth. But about the year 150 he met the Christian apologist and teacher Justin in Rome, whose pupil he became. He entered whole-heartedly into the study of the Christian religion and justified his step in a special document, *A Word to the Greeks*. It is unfortunate that he later became interested in two fanatical and



heretical errors, that of the Encratites and that of the Gnostics, and that he took a prominent part in spreading these false notions in Eastern Syria. Nevertheless, the harmony of the four gospels (*diatessaron*) which he compiled about this time is of great value for the study of the New Testament, not only on account of the text itself which it contains, but also on account of testimony for the existence of four acknowledged gospels.

The *Diatessaron* of Tatian was written in either Greek or Syriac and soon became widely known in the East. But its importance was recognized also in the West, so that a Latin translation was made under the direction of Victor of Capua, about 546 A. D. The manuscript of Victor was brought to Fulda, the famous German abbey founded in 744 by Sturm, a disciple of Boniface. This abbey, in the territory of the present Hesse-Nassau, became a center of ecclesiastical art, including also many fine manuscripts, the copying of which was in itself a fine art. It was during the time when Rabanus Maurus, himself an outstanding theologian and educator of the Middle Ages, was abbot of Fulda (822—842) that the German translation of Tatian's harmony was made, for its date has been quite definitely placed at 825.

In this connection we may say that it is interesting to know how ancient manuscripts and documents were preserved and distributed during the Middle Ages, before the invention of the printing-press. Most of the credit in this department of learning goes to the monasteries, especially such as were founded by men interested in learning and its propagation. Among the rules laid down by some of the founders of great monasteries, like Cassiodorus and Benedict, we find the following: "Idleness is the foe of the soul; therefore all the brethren . . . are to be engaged at certain hours with sacred reading. . . . He who does not labor in the ground with his plow should write on parchment with his fingers." Among the monasteries that stood at the head of all institutions in preserving ancient manuscripts, were Bruttii, Vivaria, Bobbio, St. Gall, Monte Cassino, Tournai, Fulda, Lorsch, Reichenau, Hirschau, Weissenburg, and Hersfeld.

The so-called *scriptorium* of monasteries of this type was an interesting room. It was furnished with the necessary desks and racks, in some cases also with candelabra, although the rules of many institutions would not permit any light but that of the sun, since there was always danger that some of the fine manuscripts would be damaged by candle drippings. Some of the finest single copies of precious manuscripts were made by skilful writers, who often spent years of tireless labor in producing the magnificent copies of illuminated manuscripts which we still admire. But books for general use were produced by a number of copyists working together, one acting

as a reader or precentor, the others copying at his dictation. The protocalligraphist, or precentor, was in charge of desks and book-racks, ink, parchment, pens and penknives, and other paraphernalia. The *bibliothecarius* divided the work and also took care of corrections at the close of the session. The writers themselves were simply designated as *scriptores* or *librarii*. The *antiquarii* were chiefly engaged in the copying of the classical documents, the *notarii* in that of legal documents, and the *illuminatores* furnished the beautiful initial letters and the vignettes.

The production of a single book was a task of large proportions and explains in part the small number of volumes in many of the monasteries. The writing was done almost exclusively in black, but the page was frequently bordered with red, gold, or some other bright color, while many beautiful illustrations were inserted by artistic monks. The best writers in the scriptoria of the various monasteries worked six hours every day. And the rules regarding the finished product were exceedingly strict, especially concerning plain copyists' errors. Small wonder that a writer of St. Gall made a notation on the margin of his manuscript: "One who does not know the art of writing may think that it is not strenuous; but although only these fingers are holding the pen, the entire body becomes tired." Yet the prevailing spirit among the copyists was one of devotion, together with a feeling of responsibility. Not only the monks, but the nuns as well were engaged in the copying of manuscripts, and there is an account of a certain Diemudis of Wessobrunn, who copied more than thirty volumes, including many missals, lectionaries, and even entire Bibles.

Nor is this all that might be said of the monasteries and their scriptoria, for it must not be forgotten that many monasteries became the centers of schools extending over an entire district or province. The monastery schools were necessarily the first beneficiaries of the work of writing done in the institutions. But by this same token the universities, many of which grew out of monastery schools, benefited by the work of the monks in preserving the learning of the past. Mechanical as much of the learning was, it cannot be denied that we have products of a very high rank among the writings of the Middle Ages.

Among these writings by no means the least in value is the Old High-German translation of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, made in Fulda about 825 by a scholar whose name, unfortunately, has not been preserved. The German scholar Sievers believes that a number of men made the translation, which was afterward revised and unified in the copies which have come down to us. Professor Walther, on the other hand, holds the opinion that we are dealing with the work of only one man. The latter opinion seems to be borne out by certain

peculiarities, showing, for example, that the translator was fairly sure of his German idiom and did not often follow the construction of the Latin. He is particularly independent in his use of conjunctions, which offer quite a problem in the Latin.

As stated above, the work of Tatian is a harmony of the four gospels, but not by a merging of the texts from the four documents, rather by a selection of parts from the gospels showing progressive steps in the history of the Savior. The first paragraph is the prolog from Luke, chap. 1, 1—4, followed by the first part of the prolog of John, chap. 1, 1—5. Then we have the story of John the Baptist's birth, then of the birth and childhood of Jesus, according to Luke. After that the author used parts of the gospels as he needed them for his purpose, although he omitted some sections which were damaging to his later Gnostic views. A few paragraphs from various parts of the translation may prove of interest.

Luke 1, 1—4: Bithiu uuanta (for that reason, because) manage (*manche*, some, certain ones) zilotun (*zielten*, aimed to, intended to) ordino saga (saying) thio in uns gifulta (*erfuellt*, fulfilled, came to pass) sint rahhono (*Sache, Angelegenheit*, matter) so uns saltun (*berichten*, gave an account of) thei thar fon aneginne selbon gisahun inti ambakta (*Diener*, servants) uuarun uuortes, — uuas mir gisehan (*visum est mihi*, it seemed to me) gifolgentemo (*der ich gefolgt war, verfolgt hatte*, who had followed up the information) fon aneginne allem, gernliho (*sorgfaeltig*, carefully) after antreitu (*Ordnung*, order) thir scriben, thu bezzisto Theophile, thaz thu forstantes thero uuorto (*Verstand der Worte*, understanding of the words), fon them thu gilerit bist, uuar.

John 1, 1—5: In aneginne uuas uuort inti thaz uuort uuas mit gote inti got selbo uuas thaz uuort. Thaz uuas in aneginne mit gote. Alliu thuruh thaz vvurdun gitan (*getan*, done) into uzzan (*aussen, ohne*, without) sin ni uuas uiht (nothing was) gitanes thaz thar gitan uuas. Thaz uuas in imo lib (*Leben*, life) into thaz lib uuas liocht manno. Inti thaz liocht in finstarnessin (darknesses) liuhtha inti finstarnessi thaz ni begriffun (*ergriffen*, accepted).

Luke 2, 1—7: Uuard tho gitan in then tagun, framquam (*hervorkam, ausging*, forth came) gibot fon themo aluualten (all-ruling) keisure, thaz gebrievit (*in Briefe eingetragen*, entered into lists) vvurdi al these umbiuuerft (*orbis terrarum, Welt*, world). Thaz gescib (*scriptura*, census) iz eristen uuard gitan in Syriu fon themo graven Cyrine, inti fuorun (*fuhren*, journeyed) alle, thaz biiahin (*bejahen*, confess, state) thionost (*Dienst*, service, compliance) iogiueelih in sinero burgi. Fuor tho Joseph fon Galileu fon theru burgi thiu hiez Nazareth in Judeno lant inti in Davides burg, thiu uuas ginemnit (*benamt*, named) Bethleem, bithiu uuanta her uuas fon huse inti hiuuiske (family) Davides, thaz her giiahi (*erklaren*, declare, report) saman mit Mariun imo gimahaltero gimahhun (*verlobtes Gemahl*, betrothed wife) so scaffaneru (*so schaffend, erzeugend*, being pregnant). Tho sie thar uuarum, vvurdum taga gifulte (*erfuellt*, fulfilled), thaz siu bari (*gebaeren*, bear, bring forth), inti gibar ira sun eristhoranon inti biuuant (wound) inan mit tuoehun inti gilegita inan in crippea, bithiu uuanta im ni uuas ander stat (*andere Staette*, another place) in themo gasthuse.

Matt. 28, 16—20: Einlif (*elf*, eleven) jungoron giengun in Galileam in then berg thar in ther heilant gimarcota (*angezeigt*, marked), inti gisehenti inan betotun (*anbeteten*, prayed to Him) inan, sume giuuesso

(certain ones) zuuehotun (*zweifelten*, were in doubt). Inti sprah in zuo quedenti (speaking to them): gigeban ist al giuualt mir in himile inti in erdu. Get in alla uueralt, praedigot evangelium allera gisoefti (*Geschoepf*, creature) inti leret alle thiota (*Leute*, people), toufenti sie in namen fater inti sunes inti thes heiligen geistes, leret zi bihaltanne (*halten*, hold, observe) allie so uuelichiu (whatsoever) si ih iu gebot. Inti seun (see ye!) ih bin mit iu allen tagon unzan enti uueralti.

From these few excerpts it is evident that, in certain sections of Germany at least, some rather successful efforts to offer the Gospel in the language of the people were made. Although the translation is occasionally laborious, chiefly because the translators followed the Latin copy too slavishly, yet the main facts of the Gospel-story were correctly set forth, and one may well believe that many a heart was won for Christ by the narrative of His life and death as presented by faithful pastors in their parish sermons and in the courses of instruction offered for membership in the Church.

## VI. Alliterative Poetry and the Old Saxon "Heliand."

In our story of the evangelization of the various German tribes we have heard of the Visigoths, the tribes along the Rhine, the Alemanni, the Suevi, the Burgundians, the Franks, the Friesians, and others. By the middle of the eighth century, when the death of Boniface occurred, all of what is now Northern France, the Netherlands and Belgium, Switzerland, and most of Western and Southwestern Germany had received the Gospel, so that probably the majority of the natives of these sections were at least nominally Christians. The sons of Charles Martel, Pepin the Short and Carloman, had actively supported Boniface in his missionary labors, so that the Frankish Church at any rate was fully established.

Charlemagne, son of Pepin the Short, born in 742, became ruler, together with his brother Carloman, in 768 and sole ruler of the Frankish kingdom three years later. In 774 he defeated Desiderius, king of the Lombards, and incorporated that kingdom into his own. This is commonly considered the beginning of Charlemagne's empire. Even before this success came to him, however, Charlemagne felt obliged to take up arms against a German tribe which seriously threatened his northeastern frontier, namely, the Saxons. Their country at that time extended from the mouths of the Elbe southward to Thuringia and westward nearly to the Rhine. They had refused to become Christians, preferring their old idols Odin and Thor. When a Christian missionary, Libuinus, endeavored to convert the Saxons by declaring God's vengeance against their paganism, they were so provoked that they expelled him from their country, burned the church erected at Daventer, and massacred the Christian converts.

Charlemagne was a good and wise monarch, and his efforts in behalf of good government and education are rightly acknowledged

in history. But he failed to realize that the kingdom of Christ is a spiritual kingdom. One of his slogans was: "Every person in the empire a Christian," and he acted according to this slogan with relentless severity. Four wars he waged against the Saxons, including numerous campaigns. In each case the superiority of Charlemagne's forces compelled the Saxons to make peace, but they did not yield from conviction. This state of intermittent warfare lasted for fifteen years, beginning with 771 A.D. Finally, after the Saxon conscripts in the army of Charles had massacred many of the Frankish soldiers, the king constituted a terrible example, for he devastated the Saxon territory and caused four thousand five hundred Saxons to be put to death. It was then that Witukind (Wittekind, Witikind), the great Saxon chief, swore fealty to the Frankish monarch, received Christian baptism, and he and his people embraced Christianity. Bishoprics, monasteries, and churches rapidly sprang up in the country of the Saxons. Eight bishoprics were established in the course of the next decades, namely, Osnabrueck, Minden, Verden, Bremen, Paderborn, Muenster, Halberstadt, and Hildesheim. Charlemagne had accomplished, at least outwardly, what he had stated in a message to the Pope: "It is my duty to defend the Church of Christ everywhere on earth, outwardly against the onslaughts of the heathen and desolation of unbelievers by force of arms, and inwardly to strengthen it by the acknowledgment of the Catholic faith. Your duty, on the other hand, Holiest Father, is to aid our cause with uplifted hands, as Moses did, that through your intercession by the gracious will of God the Christian Church triumph everywhere over the enemies of His name, and thus the name of Jesus Christ our Lord will be glorified in all the world." The military force of Charles had conquered — outwardly, but there was as yet little inner conviction. It remained for his successors, chiefly Louis Le Debonnaire (814—840), to apply other means for winning the souls of the Saxons for Christianity.

This was done chiefly through an alliterative poem on the New Testament, which was produced about 830. Poetry of this type had apparently been in use among Germanic tribes for over a century, both on the Continent and in England. The account of the poet Caedmon, as preserved by the Venerable Bede, gives us the beginning of the first Biblical poem of this kind, from about the year 670 A.D. The first lines read: —

Nu we sculon herigean heofonrices Weard,  
 Meotodes' meahte ond his modgethanc,  
 weore Wuldorfaeder swa he wundra gewhaes,  
 ece drihten or onstealde.  
 He acrest sceop eorðan bearnum  
 heofon to hrofe halig Scyppend;  
 tha middengeard monecynnes Weard  
 ece Drihten aefter teode  
 frum foldan, Frea aelmihtig.



Which would be in modern English:—

Now we shall praise the Ward of the heavenly kingdom,  
The might of the Lord and the thoughts of His mind,  
The work of the glorious Father, as it was a marvel,  
The everlasting Lord, created [at] the beginning [began to create].  
He first created for the children of earth  
Heaven as a roof, the holy Creator;  
The midde-earth the Ward of mankind,  
The eternal Lord, afterward made,  
The land of men, the almighty Lord.

In Germany we have, as some of the outstanding productions of this type, the *Hildebrandslied*, a fragment of the eighth century, which begins with the lines:—

Ik gihorta dat seggen  
dat sih urhettun aenon muotin,  
Hiltibrant enti Hadubrant untar herium tuem  
sunufatarungo . . .;

in English:—

I heard that said,  
That as battlers battled in single combat,  
Hiltibrant and Hadubrant, between two armies,  
Son and father . . .;

also the *Ludwigslied*, of the ninth century (Louis III, 881), which begins:—

Einan kuning uueiz ih Heizsit her Hluduig,  
Ther gerno gode thionot: Ih uueiz her imos lonot . . .

in English:—

I know a king, His name is Ludwig,  
Who gladly serves God; I know He will reward him for it.

It was this type of song which was chosen for a translation of the New Testament into Old Saxon by the bards of Louis Le Debonnaire. And it was not an exact translation so much as a poetical rendering along the broad epical lines of the early heroic poetry. Approximately six thousand double lines of the *Heliand* have been preserved. In addition, there seem to have been two prologs, which have been ascribed to different authors. A version of the Old Testament, which is referred to by Matthias Flacius, has since been lost. Many parts of the *Heliand*, as it has been preserved, are of outstanding power and beauty and will well repay a more thorough study. The name of the poem was taken from chapter 6, line 443 of the entire poem.

The following sections of the poem, with English translation, are offered to characterize the production and convey at least a little of its epic power. Here is a part of the story of the Nativity:—

Tho ward managun kuth  
obar thesa widun werold, wardos antfundun,  
thea thar ehu-skalkos uta warun,  
weros an wahtu, wiggeo gomean,  
fehas after felda: gisahun finistri an twe  
telatan an lufte, endi quam licht godes

wanum thurh thiū wolkan, endi thea wardos thar  
 bifeng an them felda. Sie wurdun an forhtun tho,  
 thea man an iro moda, gisahun that mahtigna  
 godes engil kuman, the im tegegnes sprak,  
 het that im thea wardos wiht ni antdredin  
 ledes fon them lihta: "ik skal iu", quad he, "liobora thing  
 swido warliko willeon seggean.  
 kudean kraft mikil. Nu is Krist giboran,  
 an thesero selbun naht, salig barn godes,  
 an thero Davides burg, drohtin the godo;  
 that is mendislo manno kunneas,  
 allaro friho fruma! Thar gi ina fidan mugun  
 an Bethlema-burg, barno rikioat;  
 hebbiad that te tekna, that ik iu gitellian mag  
 warun wordun, that he thar biwundan ligid,  
 that kind an enera kribbiun, thoh he si kuning obar al,  
 erdun endi himiles, endi obar eldeo barn,  
 weroldes waldand."

In English:—

Then it became known to many  
 Over this wide world, servants found it out,  
 Hostlers that were outside,  
 Men on watch, horse-servants,  
 Of the cattle in the fields; they saw the darkness part,  
 (Divide) in the air, and the light of God came  
 Bright through the clouds, and it shone about  
 The herdsmen there in the fields. They were then in fears,  
 The men in their minds; they saw there the mighty  
 Angel of God come, who spoke to them;  
 He bade the herdsmen not to fear any  
 Harm from the light. "I shall," said he, "tell you more  
 welcome things,  
 Most truly gladly, with pleasure  
 Announce a great wonder. Now is Christ born,  
 In this very night, the blessed Son of God,  
 In the city of David, the good Lord;  
 That is joy for mankind, to all people delight!  
 There you may find Him,  
 In the city of Bethlehem, the richest of children;  
 Have this for a sign, which I may tell you  
 With true words, that He there lies wrapped  
 The Child in a manger, although He is King over all,  
 Earth and heaven, and over the children of men,  
 The Ruler of the world."

And here is the Lord's Prayer as given in the *Heliand*:—

"Than gi god willena," quad he,  
 "weros mit iuwon wordun waldand grotean,  
 allero kuningo kraftigostan, than quedad gi, so ik iu leriū:  
 Fadar is usa, friho barno,  
 the is an them hohon himilo rikea,  
 gewihid si thin namo wordu gehwilliku!  
 Kuma us to thin kraftag riki!  
 Werda thin willeo obar thesa werold alla,  
 so sama an erdo, so thar uppa ist  
 an them hohon himilo rikea!  
 Gef us dago gihwilikes rad, drohtin the godo,  
 thina helaga helpa! endi alat us, hebenes ward,  
 managoro men-skuldio, al so wi odrun mannun doan.  
 Ne lat us farledean leda wihti  
 so ford an iro willeon, so wi wirdige sind;  
 ak help us widar allun ubilon dadiun!"

In English:—

"When ye will," said He,  
 "The people, with your words greet God, the Ruling One,  
 The mightiest of all kings, then say, as I teach you:  
 Father of ours, of the children of men,  
 That art in the high kingdom of heaven,  
 Hallowed be Thy name with each word!  
 To us come Thy powerful kingdom!  
 Thy will be done over all this world,  
 The same on earth as there above  
 In the high heaven-kingdom!  
 Give us every day, good Lord, what we need,  
 Thy holy help! And forgive us, Guardian of heaven,  
 Our many trespasses, as we do also to other men.  
 Do not let evil spirits tempt us  
 Away after their will, if we be worthy of that;  
 But help us against all evil deeds!"

Thus was the whole Gospel-story cast into chapters or sections, all in the same rhythmical alliterative verse, well adapted for the chanting of the bards, as they went from village to village, from castle to castle. It was a method akin to that which made the Easter and Christmas plays so successful two centuries later, not only on the Continent, but also in England.

#### VII. "Otfrid's Gospel-Book" and Other Medieval Versions.

While the author (or authors) of the *Heliand*, who evidently were trained in the school of Fulda, wrote in the alliterative form of the old Germanic poetry, also with a keen insight into, and a powerful sympathy with, the customs and viewpoints of the people, another form of poetry was introduced in the western part of the Germanic territory, a form which was destined to exert a powerful influence upon later developments in this field.

Among the monasteries which were prominent in promoting learning during the early Middle Ages was that of Weissenburg, in the old Franconian country west of the Rhine. It was here that a man by the name of *Otfrid* was born, about 790, whose importance in the field of German literature is rightly emphasized. He studied in Fulda under Rhabanus Maurus and later in St. Gall. Returning to Weissenburg, he became presbyter and also teacher at the monastery school. He was a scholar of unusual ability, with a decided talent for languages, including the German, although he refers to it as "a language incapable of culture and discipline" (*lingua inculta et indisciplinabilis*). Yet *Otfrid* took this difficult medium of communication, at the earnest solicitation of some of his friends, "*thaz wir Kriste sungen in unsere Zungen*," and produced a poem, consisting of a harmony of the gospels, known as *Krist*, which, with all its pedantic peculiarities, is rightly considered a literary masterpiece, incidentally being a source of information on customs and morals

of the day. The strength of his composition is in its lyric beauty and in the fairly comprehensive presentation of the doctrine of justification. His genuine humility, as one of the fruits of this knowledge, appears in the prayer which he places at the beginning of his poem, after the introduction and the preceding dedicatory sections. Homesickness for heaven is the governing impulse of the quiet monk of Weissenburg, who places his talents in the service of the Lord and disregards honor before men.

Otfrid's harmony, the *Krist*, was composed in five books, written approximately 854 to 868, in the Franconian dialect. The three dedicatory sections are written in acrostic form, the first being addressed to Louis the German (*Ludouuico orientaliū regnorum regi sit salus aeterna*), the second to Bishop Solomon (*Salomoni episcopo Otfridus*), and the third to Hartmut and Werinbert, two monks of St. Gall (*Otfridus Uuizanburgensis monachus Hartmuatē et Uerinberto Sancti Galli monasterii monachis*). Then follows a prolog, or preface, explaining the reason for writing the poem, and the invocation of the writer to the Lord. A feature of the poem are the spiritual or mystical sections explaining the Gospel-story in keeping with the demand of the day for a three- or fourfold interpretation of the text.

The following sections will give an idea of the work done by Otfrid in presenting the Gospel-story in rhymed verse. In his introduction, or prolog, he writes, after explaining why he composed this book in German:—

Nu uuill ih scriban unser heil, euangeliono deil,  
so uuir nu hiar bigunnun in frenkisga zungun,  
Thaz sie ni uuesen einō thes selben adeilo,  
ni man in iro gizungi Kristes lob sungi,  
Ioh er ouh iro uuorto gilobot uuerde harto,  
ther sie zimo holeta, zi giloubon sinen ladota;

in English:—

Now I want to write of our salvation, a selection from the gospels  
As we now begin it here in the Frankish dialect,  
That they might not be alone having no part in them,  
That no one in their language sing the praise of Christ,  
That also in their words He be praised strongly,  
That He bring them to Him, invite them to faith in Him.

The first lines of Otfrid's invocation read:—

Vuola, druhtin min, ia bin ih scale thin!  
thia arma muater min, eigan thiū ist si thin!  
Fingar thinan dua anan mund minan,  
theni ouh hand thina in thia zungun mina;

in English:

Hail, my Lord! Always am I Thy servant.  
This poor mother of mine, Thine own maid she is.  
Thy finger place upon my mouth,  
Stretch out Thy hand to my tongue.

## From the story of the Wise Men:—

Thie buachara ouh tho thare gisamanota er sare,  
 sie uuas er fragenti, uuar Krist giboran uurti;  
 Er sprah zen euuarton selben thesen uuorton,  
 gab armer ioh ther richo antuurti gilicho,  
 Thiu burg nantun se sar, infestiz datun alauuar  
 mit uuorton then er thie altun forasagon zaltun . . . ;

## in English:

The scribes he there gathered eagerly;  
 He was asking them where Christ should be born.  
 He spoke to the priests with these same words,  
 And poor man and rich gave the same answer.  
 They named the city definitely; they most certainly stated  
 In words which before the ancient ones in prophesying  
 had told. . . .

There is no information as to the influence exerted by this great Gospel poem, but there can be no doubt as to its being a monument of the early German literature, one which will repay careful study even to-day.

Beside this poetical version of the gospels there were quite a few translations of parts of the Bible at a fairly early date, beside the German Psalters, which will be considered in a special section. Professor Walther discusses a total of nine translations of the gospels, of which we have referred to the Monsee-Vienna Fragments and the Tatian Harmony. There is a fragment, of which parts were found in Munich and in Vienna, which contains directions for chanting the text in services. Switzerland boasts a complete translation of the four gospels in the Alemannic dialect; there is also a Psalter belonging to this version. It belongs to the period before 1400. There is a harmony of the gospels in Munich which has been placed before 1343, the language of which shows the work of a master. Other versions of the gospels are those of a parchment codex of the monastery at Melk, of a similar manuscript found at Kassel and placed about the middle of the fourteenth century, and of a manuscript with the Gospel of St. John and the Gospel of St. Matthew, which is preserved at Munich.

But this part of our study would not be complete without a reference to the translations of individual books which have been found, especially of the Song of Songs and of the Apocalypse. The most notable example of the former group is a paraphrase of the Song of Songs made by *Williram*, who died in 1085 as the abbot of Ebersberg in Bavaria, after having received his training in Fulda and served in his office for almost four decades. The form of Williram's work is that which offers a translation of individual sentences, followed by a short exposition. This is his rendering of chap. 1, 2, 3:—

Cusser mih mit cusse sines mundes. Uuanta bezzer sint dine spunne  
 demo uuine, sie stinchente mit den bezzenen salbon. Din namo ist uzge-  
 gozzenaz ole. Vone diu minnont diu die iunkfrouen.



And chap. 5, 2:—

Ih slafon, min herza uuachot. Mir becnuodelet mines uuines stimma:  
Intuo mir, min suester, min fruentin, min tuba, min scona, uuanta min  
hoibet ist fol toiuues unte mine locca fol dero nahttroffon.

The interest in Williram's paraphrase was so great that many copies were made, a large number of which have been preserved to this day. In general the copyist made few changes in his translation and explanation, except by way of some additional point found in some Church Father; for Williram followed the exposition of Haimo of Halberstadt, Bede, Gregory the Great, and Alcuin, while others thought more highly of other men. A few renderings of the Song of Songs, which may have been inspired by Williram's work, show some very distinctive features, as they were intended in particular for the use of monks or of nuns; for in the latter case the authors were not satisfied with setting forth the meaning of the poem as an allegory picturing the relation between Christ and the Church, but extended the thought to emphasize the adoration of Mary.

Of the Revelation of St. John there are four notable translations, of which two are at Maihingen in Bavaria, one in Augsburg, and one in Vienna, all of them apparently dating from about the middle of the fifteenth century or somewhat later. In the manuscript of Augsburg, chap. 1, 4. 8 reads as follows:—

Johannes Siben kirchen die da sind in asia dem lannde, gnad sey tich  
vnd fride von dem d' da ist gewesen vnd künfftig ist, vnd von den siben  
gaisten die in angesichte seins thrones sind. . . . Ich bin alpha vnd o spricht  
vnz h're got, der ist vnd was vnd künfftig ist almechttig.

At this point reference may be made to Gospel harmonies and epistolaries, such as the *Beheim Evangelienbuch*. In the thirteenth century a translation of a Latin Gospel harmony was made in Cologne by the Dominicans. It spread over the whole of the province Teutonia, into Holland, Switzerland, Swabia, Bavaria, and also into Middle and Low Germany. As early as the first half of the fourteenth century it reached the diocese of Magdeburg. Now, in this same district a translation of the four gospels had been made, probably at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Before 1343 this translation was revised with the help of the harmony originating among the Dominicans at Cologne. Likewise before 1343 an *Evangeliar* must have been made by the Dominicans from the translation, and this was then united with an *Epistolar* of another origin to form a complete *Plenar*. The revised copy of the gospel translation was copied for the hermit Matthias Beheim at Halle in 1343, while the new *Plenar* was translated into Low German in 1390 and the harmony united with the above-mentioned *Epistolar*. This seems to have wandered westward, and from it the Uffenbach manuscript was made in 1411. (Maurer, *Studien zur Mitteldeutschen Bibeluebersetzung vor Luther.*)

We finally refer to translations of the Old Testament, of which eleven have been preserved in a more or less complete form, namely, the so-called "Wenzelbibel" in Vienna; a manuscript in Munich; one in Maihingen, dated 1437; one in Nuernberg, dated 1437-43; one in Nikolsburg, dated 1456; one in Weimar, dated 1458; one in Vienna, the date not being given, because the manuscript is defective; a second one in Munich, dated 1463; a third in Munich, of the same year; another in Maihingen, dated 1472; and one in Gotha. Of these the most noted translation is the "Wenzelbibel," of the last half of the fourteenth century, between 1389 and 1400. It is divided into six volumes: 1. Foreword, the Pentateuch, and Joshua; 2. Judges, Ruth, Kings; 3. First and Second Chronicles, Prayer of Manasse, Ezra, Nehemiah, Tobith, Judith 1, 1-7; 4. Isaiah, with introduction, Jeremiah, with introduction, Lamentations, Judith, Esther, Job, with introduction; 5. Psalter, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom of Solomon, Jesus Sirach, Prayer of Solomon; 6. Isaiah, with introduction, Jeremiah, with introduction, Baruch, with introduction, Ezekiel. At the beginning of the Preface there is a short prayer:—

O Got du hertzen liebes gut,  
Czu dir hebit sich mein mut  
Vnd rufet dich gutlichen an,  
Wenne nyemant wol geschaffen kan.

The story of the "Wenzelbibel" is almost romantic. The work was done by Martin Rotlev under the auspices of King Wenzel and his wife, for there is a short dedicatory poem, which reads:—

Wer nv diser schrifte hort,  
Wil lesen vnd ir suzen wort  
Der schol nv dancken dem vrumen,  
Von dem ditz gestift ist kvmen,  
Dem hochgebornen kvnig wenzlab vein  
Vnd der durchluchtigsten kvniginne sein.  
Den dicz durch gotis wirdikeit  
Frvmet aller cristenheit.  
Got gebe in dorumbe czu lone  
Des edlen himelriches crone. Amen.

As a specimen of the translation the following verses from Gen. 24, 12 ff. will suffice:—

Do sprache er, Got herre meines Hren abrahames kvm heute mir en-  
kegen des bitte ich dich, vnd tu dein barmhertzichheit mit meinem herren  
abrahamen. Sich ich stee bei disem bronne des wassers. Und der tœchter  
die in der stat wonen die geen heraus wasser zu schepfen. Dorumbe die  
iunkvrowe zu der ich spreche neige deinen krug das ich trincke, vnd sie ant-  
worte, Trincke nicht alleine, sunder auch den cameln wil ich geben trincken.

It should be noted with regard to this Bible that the illustrations, like the text, are of unusual merit, many of them being real works of art, which may be placed beside the best examples of medieval manuscript work.

## VIII. Psalteries of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

It was but natural that the Psalter should receive the attention of the translators at a very early date, since it is the prayer-book of the Church Universal and for that reason has always had a special appeal for believers of every class. Of the oldest translation of the Psalms of which we have knowledge, written in the Alemannic dialect, a fragment has been preserved, which places the date of the work into the ninth century. The translation, on the whole, is well done, although based, as were practically all these translations, entirely on the Vulgate. Psalm 130 reads as follows:—

Fone tiuem hereta ce dih (call to Thee), druhtin (Lord). Truhtin, kehori stimma mina. sin orun diniu anauuartentiu (let Thine ear be attending) in stimma des kebetes mines. Ubi unreht pihaltis (*behalten*, retain to the sinner), truhtin, uuer kestat im (who will stand before Him)? Danta mittih kenada ist, duruh uuizzud (knowledge, understanding) tinan fardolata dih (bear, endure), druhtin (Latin: *et propter legem tuam sustinui te, Domine*). Fardolata sela miniu in uuorte sinemo. Uuanta (hoped) sela miniu in truhtine. Fona pihaltidu (beholding) morganlihero (morning-light) uncin ze naht uuane Israhel in truhtine. Danta mit truh-tinan kinada inti kinuhtsamiu (abundance) mit inan erlosida. Inti her erlosit Israhelan fone allen unrehten (unrighteousnesses) sinen.

But the man who gave the greatest impetus to the work of translating the Psalter, so that some twenty-four medieval renderings have been registered, was Notker of St. Gall, commonly called *Notker Labeo* (ca. 950—1022), to distinguish him from Notker Balbulus, the poet (d. 912), and Notker the physician (d. 975). He was the last of the three Notkers, but by no means the least. He was educated at St. Gall, where he also spent more than forty years as teacher. His outstanding accomplishments in the field of theology, philology, music, mathematics, astronomy, and poetry made him notable even among contemporary scholars of superior ability.

Notker himself reports to his bishop on his reason for venturing into the field of philology and undertaking the translation of many of the classics as well as of parts of Scripture. He had found that at least glosses in the vernacular were required if one desired to do justice to his teaching. These glosses soon grew into formal translations, first of the Psalter, then of Augustine, then of various sections of the same nature in the Bible, especially of the Book of Job. The special merit of his work lies in the fact that he was a master of style, that emotion, warmth of expression, and freshness impart an appealing vigor to all his literary work. There is also a good deal of historical value in his glosses, since he touches upon every department of learning, philosophy, astronomy, economics, natural history, and political history. So great was his mastery of German that he was called Notker Teutonicus after his death, instead of Labeo (the full-lipped one).

As a sample of the work of Notker in the field of Bible-translating we offer his version of Psalm 1 according to the complete manuscript of St. Gall:—

Der man ist salig, der in dero argon rat (into the council of the wicked) ne gegiang. Noh an dero sundigon uuege ne stuont. Noh an demo suhtstuole (*cathedra pestilentiae*, seat of the pestilence) ne saz. Nube (but, on the contrary) der ist salig, tes uuillo an gotes eo (*Gesetz*, law) ist, unde der dara ana denchet tag unde naht. Unde der gediehet (flourishes) also uuola, so der boum, der bi demo innennten uazzere gesezzet ist, der zitigo (in his time) sinen uuoocher (*Ertrag*, fruit) gibet. So uuola ne gediehent aber die argen. So ne gediehent sie. Nube sie zefarent (go to pieces) also daz stuppe (stubble) dero erdo, daz ter uuint feruuahet. Bediu ne erstant arge ze dero urteildo. Noh sundige ne sizzent danne in demot rate dero rection. Vuanda got uueiz ten uueg tero rehton. Unde dero argon fart uuint ferloren.

Reference should at least be made to the translations of Notker in the field of catechetics, for his version of the Lord's Prayer with a short explanation is notable for its brevity and clearness. The same may be said for his translation of the Apostolic Creed, which is here added for the sake of comparison:—

Ih keloubo an got, almahtigen fater, skephen himiles unde erdo. Unde an sinen sun, den geuuechten haltare (*geweihten Erhalter*, *Heiland*) einigen unseren herren. Der fone demo heiligen geiste imphanen uuard, fona Maria dero magede geborn uuard. Kenothaftot (*in Not gehalten*, *gefesselt*; Latin: *passus est*) pi Pontio Pilato. Unde bi imo an crucem gestafter irstarb unde begraben uuard. Ze hello fuor, an demo dritten tage fone tode irstuont. Ze himile fuor, dar sizzet zu gotes zeseuuun (right hand), des almahtigen fater. Dannan chumftiger ze irteillene, die er danne findet lebende alde tote. Geloubo an den heiligen geist, der fone patre et filio chumet unde sament in ein got ist. Keloubo heiliga dia allichun samenunga, diu christianitas heizet. Geloubo ze habenne dero heiligon gemeinsami, ablaz sendon. Geloubo des fleiskes urstendida. Geloubo euuigen lib. Amen. Daz tuon ih keuuaro.

The work of Notker was often copied during the centuries after his death, but it is especially interesting to find that his translation was revived in the fourteenth century. His version of Psalm 1, 1—3, is here given in the following form:—

Der man ist selig, der niht gieng in den rat der argen. Vnd an dem weg der sundigen stund er niht. Vnd an dem stul der suht saz er niht. Sunder der ist saelig des wille an gotes e ist, und der an seiner e trahet tag vnd naht. Vnd er gedihet als wol als der bovm der pei dem rinnenden wazzer gepflantzet ist. Der sine frucht gibt ze siner zit. Vnd sin blat zeflevzet niht. Vnd alliu div der bovm bringet, div werdent gegluhaftiget.

A Psalter from the monastery of Windberg, dated 1187 and now preserved at Munich, is distinguished by the fact that almost every psalm is accompanied by a prayer referring to its contents. In the interlinear translation the Latin word is often reproduced in various synonyms in German. In some instances the explanation grows into several sentences in expository form. Another feature of this Psalter

are the beautiful initial letters, many of them real works of art. This last holds true also of another version of the Psalter of the twelfth century, preserved in Vienna. The initials are exquisitely illuminated, many of them in gold ink.

A Psalter which is preserved at the library of Olmuetz contains songs of praise. It is an interlinear version, in which the author dared to set aside the Latin sequence of words and attempt some degree of freedom, as the following specimen from Ps. 115, 6. 7 shows:

{	Oren haben si vnd niht werden horen.
{	Aures habent et non audient.
{	nazlocher haben si vnd niht w'den riechen.
{	Nares habent et non odorabunt.
{	Si haben hende vnd griesen niht.
{	Manus habent et non palpabunt;
{	si heben fuesse vnd gehent nicht
{	pedes habent et non ambulabunt:
{	vnd schreien nicht in ire kel.
{	non clamabunt in gutture.

A Psalter dating from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, which is preserved at Treves, is an interlinear version. The manuscript begins with Ps. 37, 14 and closes with Ps. 144, 6. A feature of this translation is the use of the expression *unser herre* for the Latin *Dominus*, except in the vocative case. — A Latin Psalter in Wolfenbuettel, dating from the first half of the thirteenth century, received a German interlinear version about two centuries later. It seems that some copyist who had several German versions before him tried to combine them into some sort of coherent form, but did not succeed very well.

Of the remaining Psalters of the late Middle Ages, Walther writes that they show certain characteristics which place them together in a group. Such features are the extensive use of glosses taken from, or based upon, scholastic writings and occasional references to the Hebrew text. Translators whose names are known are Heinrich von Muegeln, one of the founders of the *Meistersaenger*, Heinrich von Hessen, and a scholar of Cannstadt, while the names of some of the editors and printers are Ratdolt, Michel, Huepfuff, and Knoblouch. In one of the Psalters there is a note attached to Ps. 1, 1: —

Der auf dem Lehrstuhl der Verderbnisz nicht gesessen hat. In ebraeisch spricht es: Der auf dem Lehrstuhl der Spoetter nicht gesessen hat.

The following is a sample of the work done by Heinrich von Muegeln; from Psalm 8: —

Herre vnser herre wie ze wundern dein nam ist auf allem erdreich, dein groezz ist auferhaben ueber die himel

Aus dem munde der kinde vnd die noch tuelent oder saugent hast du dein lob volpracht durich dein veinde

das du zerstoerst den veint vnd den recher.



The situation regarding translations of the Bible or of any of its parts into German became rather precarious after 1369, for it was in that year that Charles IV issued his edict against books on the Holy Scriptures in the German tongue: . . . *praesertim cum Laycis utriusque sexus secundum canonicas sanctiones etiam libris vulgaribus quibuscunque de sacra scriptura uti non liceat, ne per male intellecta deducantur in haeresin vel errorem* (especially since it is not permitted to laymen of either sex, according to the canonical sanctions, to use any books on the Sacred Scripture in the common tongue, lest by an evil understanding they be seduced into heresy and error). This edict was actually enforced by the Inquisition. Nevertheless copies of many parts of Scripture and of the whole Bible were made and distributed, as we shall see also in the next chapter.

P. E. KRETZMANN.

### A Defense of Luther against Edgar A. Mowrer.

Adolf Hitler's rise and his seizure of autocratic power, the "most portentous phenomenon of the Western World," was recently described to the American public by the correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, Edgar A. Mowrer, in his book *Germany Puts the Clock Back*. Just at the time it appeared in print, Mowrer was awarded the Pulitzer prize by the trustees of the Columbia University in recognition of his services as newspaper correspondent. By the *Nation* he was adjudged one of the men who outstandingly contributed to American public affairs in 1933, "the foremost to combat Hitlerism." In his book as well as in his articles Mowrer writes interestingly; he was in close contact with the events he describes, he has a fine faculty for unearthing news and evaluating it, a keen insight into European affairs, a splendid sense of proportion, and the saving grace of humor; his book may well serve as an introduction to Hitler. Its review also is important to us because it is to many people the source of information about things in Germany. Hitler thought it important, too. Mowrer was invited to leave Berlin, although he was the outstanding foreign correspondent in Germany. He was transferred to Tokyo.

Mowrer does not write very much about the relation of Hitlerism to Church and religion; still he does permit himself a digression on Luther, which is one of the most unfounded and bitter attacks on the Reformer that has come to my attention. It is such a gross misrepresentation of historical truth that it brought doubts into my mind as to the reliability of Mowrer in other matters. Let me quote the passage from page 201 and the following:—

"Protestantism means in Germany Lutheranism. All the pet doctrines of Prussianism are found in the writings of the founder,

Doctor Martin Luther. For him autocracy lay in God's plan; civil and religious authority, he wrote, should be mixed together in one hand as 'in a cake.' Therefore in each Protestant German state before the revolution the ruling prince was also the *summus episcopus*, the highest bishop. The unity of the Church lay not in its doctrine, but in the local dynasty. A prince 'by God's grace' had not only a right to rule, but he could rule relentlessly. 'The ass wants blows and the rabble to be ruled by violence; therefore God did not place a fox's tail in the hands of autocracy, but a sword.' The Lutheran Church came to exist primarily in and through the state."

Each and every one of these assertions is wrong.

### I.

"Protestantism means in Germany Lutheranism." No! At the celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, in the year 1817, Friedrich Wilhelm III issued an order for the union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. The syncretism that Luther had always rejected, for instance, at Marburg, the union between the Reformed and the Lutheran Church, was herewith officially introduced. Unmixed Lutheranism was officially abolished in Prussia and in most of the other German states. But even in those provinces which retained the name Lutheran the fundamental teachings of Luther and of the Lutheran Confessions were rejected in the course of the last century.

The newly appointed professor of church history in Erlangen, Licentiat Sasse, wrote in the *Theologische Blätter* a few months ago: "If German Lutheranism has to make an accusation, it must make it against itself. Four hundred years it carried the fetters of the State Church and conceded a power to the state that *according to the teachings of our Confessions* does not belong to it. Two hundred years it suffered a theology that had to *falsify* the message of the Reformation. What knowledge did we retain of the article of justification, the *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae*? What had become of the Sacraments?" (*Freikirche*, 1933, p. 164.)

Our own Missouri Synod here in America, which stands without reservation on the doctrinal position of Luther and the Lutheran Confessions, has continually lifted up its voice against the apostasy from the Lutheran doctrine on the part of the State Church in Germany. Our founders, in 1838, emigrated from the fatherland for this very reason; they had no fellowship with members of the State Church. They have supported the *Freikirche* as a protest against the dominant *pseudo*-Lutheranism; they have shown by quotations from the writings of prominent Lutheran theologians that these theologians were anything but Lutheran.

I cannot here insert a catalog of these quotations, but merely translate a few lines from Adolf Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christen-*

tums, a book that is representative of German theology of our age. Harnack writes: "Not the Son, but only the Father belongs into the Gospel as Jesus has preached it" (p. 92, 2d ed.); and again: "The phrase 'I am the Son' has not been inserted into His Gospel by Jesus Himself, and whoever places it therein as a truth besides others adds something to the Gospel" (*ib.*, p. 92). Nothing could be a more categorical denial of Luther's teachings than this is.

Thus we must change Mowrer's line "Protestantism means in Germany Lutheranism" to "Protestantism in Germany has cast away the name and the essential doctrines of Lutheranism."

## II, 1.

"All the pet doctrines of Prussianism are found in the writings of the founder, Doctor Martin Luther," is the next thesis of our writer. He lists six of these; the first is: "Autocracy lay in God's plan." Mowrer makes the almost unbelievable error of using in his translation the word *autocracy* wherever Luther employs the word *Obrigkeit*; for instance, in the quotation taken from Luther's *Sendbrief von dem harten Buechlein wider die Bauern*. I had the opportunity of discussing this point with Mr. Mowrer when he was debating in November with a defender of Hitler, Prof. Friederich Schoenemann of Berlin, before the Foreign Policy Club in our city. He maintained that *Obrigkeit* was not the general term equivalent for government, that one could, for instance, not speak of the *Obrigkeit* of a city!

J. and W. Grimm, in their *Deutsches Woerterbuch*, Vol. 7, under the word *Obrigkeit*, define it. First, "*Oberherrlichkeit, die obrigkeitliche, herrschaftliche Gewalt*"; secondly, "*die oberste Regierung oder eine von derselben eingesetzte Behoerde*." Grimm quotes Luther about six times for each of these uses. Then he has this quotation from Goethe: "*Die Obrigkeit Heilbronnns besteht aus lauter Protestanten und Studierten*"; and from Freytag, *Die Obrigkeit der Staedte*. Besides Grimm I have compared ten standard German dictionaries and foremost authorities, Heyne, Adelung, Weigand, Kalschmidt, Bergmann, Brandt, Paul, Hoffmann, Wessely, Heath. Not a single one gives "autocracy" as a meaning for *Obrigkeit*, or *Oberkeit*, as Luther writes it. To establish Luther's use of the word, one may also compare his translation of the Bible. Thus in the New Testament the word occurs fourteen times, twelve times to translate the word *causia*, twice for *arche*, never for *tyrannis*.

So much for the meaning of the word. What are the facts? Luther knew the different forms of government; he cites Aristotle; but he never criticizes democracy, nor does he express his preference for monarchy, much less for autocracy. He praises the government of the free cities of the realm unstintingly, again and again. Thus he says of Nuernberg: "Nuernberg has the best and cleverest people

in the council"; "Nuernberg is a rich, *well-governed* city, in which there is good government." It was a city without an autocrat.

Luther did say—and teach *in extenso*—that government in the abstract is an estate, is an institution in accordance with God's plan. He teaches to a world that is chafing the bit the eternal truths expressed by St. Peter (1 Pet. 2, 1), that we are to submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake or by St. Paul (Rom. 13, 1—5), that all authority (*Obrigkeit*) is of God, that civil magistrates are ordained by God, that obedience to them must be rendered as a part of our obedience to God. "This principle runs through the Bible" (Hodge, *Systematic Theol.*, III, 338); it was now presented with new emphasis to the world; whether it referred to the Elector of Saxony or to the *Rat* of Nuernberg, an autocracy or a republic, President Roosevelt can take as much comfort from Luther's writings as Kaiser Wilhelm did.

## II, 2.

The next accusation of Mr. Mowrer is that Luther wrote that civil and religious authority should be mixed together in one hand as "in a cake." Mowrer does not give his source. I checked the indices of Luther's writings and read many a page, but could not find that quotation or one similar as to content. I even consulted Roman-Catholic writers in vain. At the time I met Mr. Mowrer, he promised to send me his reference, but up to the present time he has not done so. As a matter of fact this idea is in plain contradiction to Luther's oft-expressed standpoint. Civil and religious government *must not be mixed*, is Luther's constant cry. The separation of civil and religious authority was one of the Reformation's greatest boons to mankind; Christ's divine command that we should give unto God the things that are God's and unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's had been buried under the papocaesarism of Rome. The entire world was under the curse of the bull *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII: "When the apostle said, 'Behold, here are two swords,' that is, in the Church, since it was the apostles who spoke, the Lord did not reply, 'It is too much,' but, 'It is enough.' Truly, he who denies that the temporal sword is in the power of St. Peter misunderstands the words of the Lord. . . . The one sword, then, should be under the other and *temporal authority subject to spiritual power.*" (Laffan, *Documents*, p. 117.)

And not one of the humanists, not one of the Swiss reformers cast upon the world the divine light of the real relation between Church and State as clearly as Luther did. In the beginning of the Reformation Luther wrote several tracts that will ever remain a real contribution to the world literature on political economy. And there is one point that he emphasizes in his tracts, in his sermons, in his exegesis, and that is that the two powers must not be mixed. Of the

countless passages I shall quote one or two. In his Christmas sermon of 1532, *apropos* of the name Augustus: "It is a great task to make a clean-cut distinction of the two kingdoms; for there are few who hit upon this truly. Usually it happens that the civil masters want to rule in the Church, and, on the other hand, the ecclesiastics want their say in the court-house. Under Popedom it was called well governed, and is still called so, *when both are mixed together*; but *that is governing very badly*." (Erl., 1, 255.)

Writing in 1535 against the aggrandizement of power on the part of the consistories, Luther wrote: "Satan continues to be the adversary. Under Popedom he mixed the Church under civil government; in our time he wants to mix civil government under the Church. But we are opposed to it with God's help and endeavor with all our might *to keep the two provinces apart*." (W. XXI, 1325.) Note that these two quotations are from his later writings.

Neither do the official confessions of the Lutheran Church mix this poisonous cake. Augsburg Confession, Art. 28: "Civil government is concerned with altogether different things than the Gospel; it does not protect souls, but body and property against force; it does that with the sword and punishment. Therefore these two governments, the spiritual and the civil, *should not be mixed together*." The Apology (§ 54) says: "This entire chapter of doctrine in regard to the *distinction* of the kingdom of Christ and civil kingdom is declared in the writings of our men in a useful way."

## II, 3.

From the above it is clear without further argument that Mowrer's next thesis is also wrong: "Therefore in each Protestant German state before the revolution the ruling prince was also the *summus episcopus*, the highest bishop."

It is, however, necessary to state the historical problem here involved. How did it come about that the Church, having been freed from the bondage of the papal rule, did not develop a church organization in which *the rights of the local congregation and self-government* were definitely established. Luther stressed the sovereignty of the individual believer in Christ, showing from 1 Pet. 2, 9: "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood," and from Rev. 1, 6: "He hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father," the spiritual priesthood and proclaiming with a clarion voice the sovereignty of each Christian, in whom are vested all spiritual and ecclesiastical rights and authority—the right to call and depose the servant of the Word and the right to judge all doctrine. This Luther does already in the great tract of 1520, *To the Christian Nobility*, of which Koestlin (1, 354) says: "In general he establishes ideas and aims with which he anticipates the problems of centuries: thus in



church matters in letting the organization of the church be founded on the priesthood rights of all Christians and on an office emanating therefrom, the essentials of which would not be a government like a civil one, but a *spiritual service of Word and Sacrament*."

The task that confronted Luther in forming a church organization was enormous. As the entire world was without a conception of religious rights, it had been weaned of it through more than a millennium. When the spiritual serfdom was broken, the very foundations upon which the society was resting were destroyed. The laity had not the faintest idea of self-government, in religious groups as little as in civil. Besides this, in the reorganization of church government the question of church property had to be considered. Should those who severed their connection from Rome take it upon themselves to appropriate the convents, churches, and other properties? Luther himself could and would not become the autocrat of the new Church, while the mass of the people was as little fitted for ecclesiastical self-government as the Filipinos were thought prepared for civil independence by the Congress of the United States.

An idea of the state of affairs can be gained from a study of the peasant uprisings. But even here when the peasants presented their twelve articles and the first read: "The entire congregation should have the power to elect and depose a preacher," Luther wrote: "This article is right." (Erl., 24, 280.) Other occasions brought out his approval of the same principle of church government. When Luther let *civil magistrates take the lead* in the organization of the new Church, he always demanded that they keep apart their rights as citizens and as Christians. For instance, in 1528 and again in 1538, in editing the *Instructions for the Visitors in Saxony*, the commission for church inspection and reform appointed by the Elector Johann, he said in the introduction: "Since no one of us is called and has a command to do it, . . . no one dared to take it upon himself before another. Therefore we approached the Elector Johann that His Grace the Elector out of Christian charity (for as civil government they are not obligated) and for God's sake . . . would call and appoint proper persons to such office; . . . for although His Grace the Elector have not been commanded to teach and to rule in spiritual affairs, nevertheless they are in duty bound not to let dissensions, riots, and revolts arise between subjects." (Erl., 26, 6 f.) With him the princes are "*Notbischöfe*," emergency bishops, pinch-hitters. In the entire second part of his tract on government, 1523 (Erl., 22, 57—105), he expands the thesis that magistrates have no right to rule over the conscience or religion of their subjects.

Dr. Walther presented Luther's standpoint several times, most fully in his synodical paper before the Western District in 1885. In recent years Luther's actions have been reexamined by Lord Acton

and by his collaborator A. F. Pollard in the *Cambridge Modern History*, second volume. This is liberally drawn upon by S. Parkes Cadman, *Christianity and State*, 1923 (Macmillan). They all criticize Luther for permitting the civil authorities to become too great a factor in church government and show their Reformed slant by setting up Zwingli and Calvin as models, overlooking their false principles in regard to separation of Church and State and forgetting the uninterrupted misalliance between State and Church in England since their days and those of their scholar and follower John Knox.

Among recent German discussions of our problem may be mentioned that of Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen*, 1923, Tuebingen. He is a *jurisconsultus* and is much more objective than the others mentioned. I quote from page 453: "In the time of fermentation and the variegated endeavors at reform, Luther without reserve permitted the communities to create their own new systems of law and gave them his blessings. When this failed and the peasant uprising brought about dangerous abuses of these reforms, he asked for a general reorganization on the part of the state; and here Luther had to suffer, and occasionally to support, in the new state churches, instead of the Word, the help of human jurisprudence." The outstanding history published in Germany of late is the *Propylaeen-Weltgeschichte*, Berlin. In its fifth volume, *Reformation und Gegenreformation*, 1930, Paul Joachimsen, Munich, treats our question at great length and sums it up thus (p. 214): "Every presentation of the Reformation that does not take it as an exclusively theological one cuts loose in a peculiar way from the person of Luther, the farther, the more. . . . Whatever of positive organizations had its origin in the Reformation, that Luther permitted rather than created. This holds true also of the most important creation connected with Luther, that of the Evangelical Church itself. That this Church became a Church of the Word and confession, that according to its conception it should be a people's, a congregational, church, that is the work of Luther. The growth to a territorial, to a governmental Church at all, he merely permitted, and he did not indulge in any uncertain hopes as to the results. "They want to be in the Church and also rule over the consciences," he says of the magistrates; "that we will not permit." But he had to permit it nevertheless, and the twofold consequences, that the servants of the Word at the same time became servants of the princes and that the Christian education towards the Gospel that was to begin now became a part of the behavior code of the 'Christian' police state, this Luther noticed already on his own person." This is a correct historical analysis (on the part of a non-Missourian) and can be proved in detail.

## II, 4.

Mowrer's next accusation, that Luther did not stress unity in doctrine, has never before been raised against him. The cry always has been that he was too exclusive, where unity of doctrine was concerned. His opponents have not ceased to criticize him for refusing fellowship to Zwingli and his followers as long as they would not fully agree as to the Sacrament. To learn how conscientious Luther was before receiving any one into church-fellowship and how he insisted on unity of faith, one ought to read the transactions of the Wittenberg Concord in the year 1536, an agreement that was rejected by Zurich. Frankfurt was also concerned in the Concord. Luther wrote at that time to those of Frankfurt: "Therefore this is my honest advice. . . . If any one knows that his minister teaches Zwinglian, he should shun him and rather be without Sacrament all his lifetime." This spirit of Luther showed itself in the Lutheran Church when in 1577 and 1578 3 electors, 20 princes, 24 counts, 4 barons, 29 cities of the realm, and 8,000 ministers of the Gospel subscribed to the entire Formula of Concord, all of their own free will, after due consideration; and many more joined in the following years, a case of doctrinal unity that stands unparalleled in the history of the world.

## II, 5.

The phrase "by the grace of God" has been in use for over a thousand years. It is based on New Testament passages; perhaps the Orient theory of the divine origin of kings as it was applied to Roman emperor worship, especially since the time of Augustus, had something to do with its introduction; it was applied to the emperors of the Holy Roman realm, to other magistrates, and to church dignitaries. When Pope Leo III placed the crown on the head of Charles the Great, Christmas 800, he said, "To Charles the Great, crowned of God, Great and Pacific Emperor of the Romans" (Laffan, *Documents*, p. 6); Robert Guiscard took the following oath at Melfi, 1057: "I, Robert, by the grace of God," etc. (*ibid.*, p. 25). Then we find the document of 1156: "Adrian, by the grace of God Supreme Pontiff"; and of 1230, Eberhard, Siegfried, Leopold, Bernhard, Otto, "by God's grace princes of the empire" (*ib.*); and of 1495, "James be [*sic*!] the grace of God king of the Scottis." (*Oxford Dictionary*, s. t. *grace*.) Also to English kings and queens was it applied; you may to-day pick up a penny in Canada with the legend "Victoria, Dei Gratia Regina, 1900." Do we hold Luther responsible for all of this?

## II, 6.

In Louis XIV, King of France, absolutism and despotism reached its highest pinnacle, and "by the grace of God" was abused to shield the heresy that the state existed for the ruler and not for the benefit of the subjects; in that way a servile nobility supported this

greed after power and this irresponsibility to the governed. (Walter Goetz, *Das Zeitalter des Absolutismus*, Berlin, 1931, p. 23.) This germ of absolutism wrought havoc in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and infested other European courts; and if we diagnose such a germ cultured by the Hohenzollerns, it is unhistorical to make Luther responsible for it. In accordance with the New Testament he looked upon governmental authority as being the same divine ordinance as parental authority, not more, not less divine. The most rabid liberal must concede to the government the right to rule, and to rule efficiently; that is inherent in the definition of government.

No one can bring proof that Luther wanted the government to rule arbitrarily and tyrannically; but he did advocate ruling firmly when the public weal demanded it. He used his most forceful expressions in connection with the peasant revolt, one of which is quoted by Mowrer, with the wrong translation of *Obrigkeit*. What is our Federal Government and what are the States doing during the present kidnaping wave? Does France in these February days of 1934 let the police and military power wave a fox's tail, or does it point machine guns on the Place de la Concord at the rioters anent the fall of the Daladier ministry? Luther was in the very center of unrest; the peasants were revolting from the Rhine to Salzburg in all of Southern Germany, especially in Saxony. They were in many instances defending their movement by Luther's teaching. He had had queer experiences a short time before in meeting followers of the iconoclast Carlstadt in and near Orlamuende. When the revolt now swept on like a wild-fire, he remonstrated by writing against the revolters and also appeared in person at the focal points of the disturbance midst jeers of the mobs and at the risk of his life. When incendiarism and riotings spread, — the *Catholic Encyclopedia* estimates that 1,000 convents were fired, — when the flames of the castles turned the darkness of night into day, he wrote those words that God had given the *Obrigkeit* not a fox's tail, but the sword. He had previously not minced words in rebuking the magistrates for their practises and told them that the uprising was God's punishment for their wrong-doing.

The very rulers to whom Luther addressed himself, Philip of Hesse and the Elector Johann, distinguished themselves by restraint; the Bishop of Wuerzburg and other Catholic rulers who would ignore Luther are notorious for acts of cruelty. (Koestlin, 749.) One hundred thousand are said to have lost their lives in battle and by execution. Had Luther sided with the revolters, his entire influence would have been wiped out, and there would have been no Reformation; that is the judgment of friend and foe.

I shall close this article with two short quotations from Luther's works, one written during the revolt and the other immediately after

the collapse: "The masters and governments I ask for two things; first, in case they win, that they be not proud in consequence of it, but fear God, before whom they are very guilty; secondly, that they show clemency to the prisoners and those who surrender." (*Letter to Counts of Mansfeld*, after Muenzer's debacle. Erl., 65, 22.) A few pages after the very words quoted by Mowrer: "And again and for the third time I say that I have addressed only the government that wishes to be Christian or otherwise get along honestly, that I might advise their conscience in such a case, namely, that it should quickly strike in the mob of the revolters. . . . But afterward, when they have succeeded, that they *show mercy*, not only to the innocent, as they are already doing, but also to the *guilty ones*." (Erl., 24, 318.) They should be relentful, not relentless.

St. Paul, Minn.

THEO. BUENGER.

### Bredigtstudie über 2 Tim. 2, 8—13.

(Für den Sonntag Cantate. Eisenacher Epistelreihe.)

Paulus lag im Gefängnis, seinen sicheren Tod erwartend, 2 Tim. 4, 6. Aber selbst im Gefängnis dreht sich all sein Denken, all sein Sehnen, um Jesum und sein Evangelium. Der Inhalt seiner freudigen Rückerinnerungen ist die Tatsache, daß es in dieser Welt Leute gibt, die im Glauben an Jesum stehen, selige Himmelsbürger sind, 1, 3—5. 16—18; 2, 19 ufm. Was ihn schmerzt, ist die traurige Erfahrung, daß so viele Jesum nicht annehmen wollen oder ihm nicht Treue halten, 1, 15; 2, 16—18; 4, 3. 10. 16. Und was es ihm ermöglicht, bei allen trüben Erfahrungen, die er gemacht hat, bei allen Trübsalen, die er erduldet, ja selbst bei dem Gedanken an seinen bevorstehenden Tod dennoch ruhig, getrost, zuversichtlich, freudig zu bleiben, ist Jesus, 1, 8—12; 4, 8. 18. Nun bittet er seinen Timotheus, weiter zu predigen, was er von seinem Lehrer gehört hat, 1, 6—8; 2, 1, ja auch andere zu solchem Amt und Werk auszurüsten, damit diese wiederum andere lehrten, 2, 2, so daß das Evangelium von einer Generation bis zur andern weiter gereicht, weiter gepredigt werde. In dem Abschnitt, der uns vorliegt, zeigt Paulus, welche hohe Ursache Timotheus habe zu rechter, freudiger Standhaftigkeit im Bekenntnis des Evangeliums, zu unerschrockenem Zeugenmut. Die Worte sind also zunächst an Timotheus gerichtet, gelten aber jedem Prediger, ja sie enthalten wichtige Lehren für alle Christen.

„Halt im Gedächtnis Jesum Christum, der auferstanden ist von den Toten, aus dem Samen Davids, nach meinem Evangelio!“ B. 8. Halt im Gedächtnis! So hat Luther trefflich das Wort *μνημόνευε* übersetzt. Dieses Wort heißt, sonderlich wenn es mit dem Akkusativ konstruiert wird, eine Sache oder Person in der Erinnerung behalten, sich nicht nur das eine oder andere Mal an sie erinnern, sondern sie



stets im Gedächtnis behalten, sie nie vergessen. Wie Gott im Alten Testament mahnt: „Israel, vergiß mein nicht!“ Jes. 44, 21; 5 Mos. 6, 12; wie er aber so oft klagen muß, daß Israel seiner vergessen habe, 5 Mos. 32, 18; Jos. 8, 14 usw., so ist das auch eine der Hauptsünden bei Zuhörern und Predigern, daß man seines Gottes und Heilandes vergißt, seine Gnade und Treue aus dem Gedächtnis schwinden läßt. Daher haben Prediger und Zuhörer immer wieder nötig, daß ihnen zugerufen werde: „Halt im Gedächtnis“, vergiß nicht, auch nur für einen Augenblick, „Iesum Christum!“

„Halt im Gedächtnis Iesum!“ Der Apostel gebraucht hier den menschlichen Namen des Gottessohnes. Iesus war ja ein gewöhnlicher Name unter den Juden. Manche der Männer, die diesen Namen trugen, werden in der Bibel erwähnt: (Jesus Sirach, Sir. 1, 1); „Jesus, der da heißt Just“, Kol. 4, 11; Hebr. 4, 8 (Grundtext). Die allermeisten sind der Vergessenheit anheimgefallen. Was liegt schließlich auch daran, daß ihre Namen und ihre Werke vergessen sind? Aber einen Iesum hält im Gedächtnis! Den laß dir nicht rauben! Das ist der Iesus, von dem geschrieben steht: Matth. 1, 20—23; Luk. 1, 31—33; 2, 21, der nicht nur von irdischen Eltern, sondern von dem Engel, ja von Gott selber so genannt wurde, weil er eben nicht nur Iesus heißen, sondern Iesus sein sollte — Heil, Rettung, Seligmacher, Seligkeit. Halt das im Gedächtnis, daß du einen Iesus, einen Heiland hast! Dem bleibe treu, an den klammere dich mit Leib und Seele; den laß dir nie aus Herz und Sinn schwinden. Dann wird es dir auch nie in den Sinn kommen, dich seiner zu schämen. Dann wirst du ein getreuer Zeuge Iesu bleiben; denn „was das Herz voll ist, des gehet der Mund über“, Matth. 12, 34.

„Halt im Gedächtnis Iesum Christum!“ Dein Iesus ist ein gesalbter Iesus. Bei den Israeliten war die Salbung ein Wahrzeichen der Einsetzung in ein Amt. Ein Gesalbter war ein zu einem Amt Berordneter und Bestimmter. So wurden gesalbt Könige, 1 Sam. 10, 1; 16, 12 usw., Priester, 2 Mos. 28, 41, Propheten, 1 Kön. 19, 16. Wenn solche Salbung im Einklang mit Gottes Willen geschah, war sie der Beweis der göttlichen Einsetzung in das betreffende Amt und zugleich ein Mittel göttlicher Ausstattung und Ausrüstung zu solchem Amt durch Verleihung des Geistes Gottes. Vgl. 1 Sam. 10, 1. 9; 16, 13. 14; Jes. 61, 1. Solche Personen sollten dann als von Gott gesetzte Amtspersonen angesehen werden und mit der nötigen Ehrerbietung, mit dem gebührenden Gehorsam aufgenommen und behandelt werden, Ps. 105, 15; 1 Sam. 21, 6; 26, 9—11. Ein solcher Gesalbter ist Iesus, schon nach dem Wort der Weissagung, Ps. 45, 8; Jes. 61, 1, verglichen mit Joh. 3, 34; Apost. 10, 38; Hebr. 1, 8. Iesus ist nicht ein von Menschen erdachter Heiland; er ist der von Gott selber feierlich ins Amt eingesetzte Seligmacher, Luk. 1, 31—35; 2, 31; 3, 21. 22; Hebr. 5, 5, das Heil Gottes, Jes. 49, 6. Nach Gottes Willen soll Iesus von allen Men-

sehen als einiger Heiland geehrt und anerkannt und im Glauben aufgenommen werden, Joh. 3, 16. 36; denn ohne ihn ist kein Heil zu hoffen. Den halt im Gedächtnis! Dann wirst du selber selig werden; dann wirst du aber auch allen Zweifel und alle Menschenfurcht überwinden und in der Gewißheit nicht einen von Menschen erfundenen Retter, sondern den Heiland Gottes verkündigen; dann wirst du mit rechtem Zeugenmut, mit unablässigem Eifer, mit heiliger Unerfchrockenheit deines Amtes warten.

„Halt im Gedächtnis Jesum Christum, der auferstanden ist von den Toten!“ (eigentlich: als einen Auferweckten aus Toten). „Aus Toten“, sagt der Apostel. Jesus war den Toten zugesellt worden. Er war gestorben und begraben. Trotzdem, ja gerade weil er der von Gott gesalbte Heiland war, mußte er leiden und sterben, Jes. 53; Hebr. 2, 14. Den halt im Gedächtnis! Ist er, der sich um deinetwillen so tief erniedrigte, daß er gehorsam wurde bis zum Tode, ja zum Tode am Kreuz, Phil. 2, 8, ist der es nicht wert, daß du seiner nimmermehr vergessest? Ist er es nicht wert, daß er nun dein Leben wird, Phil. 1, 21; Gal. 2, 20; 2 Kor. 5, 14 ff.? Wenn Jesus Christus, dein von Gott dir gesetzter Heiland, gestorben ist aus Liebe zu dir, weil er nur so sein Amt ausrichten konnte, was willst du dich wundern, wenn du in deinem Amt mit mancherlei Widerwärtigkeiten, mit Verfolgung, mit Gefängnis, vielleicht gar mit dem Tode zu rechnen hast? Der Knecht ist doch nicht über seinen Meister, der erlöste Diener doch nicht über seinen Herrn, der ihn erlöst hat, Matth. 10, 21—25; Joh. 15, 20. Was stößt du dich an der Feindschaft der Welt? Du erlebst ja an andern nur, was dein Jesus an uns erlebt, als er den Tod für uns litt, da wir noch seine Feinde waren, Röm. 5, 6. 10. Was fürchtest du Trübsal und Tod? Er, dein Heiland, war ja unter den Toten, damit du singen könntest: „Kann uns doch kein Tod nicht töten.“ Solltest du den je vergessen können? Solltest du dich je seiner schämen können?

Halt im Gedächtnis Jesum Christum als einen aus Toten Auferweckten! Jesus ist auferstanden aus eigener Macht und hat sich dadurch erwiesen als allmächtigen Gottessohn. Der Apostel aber zeigt hier, daß das Werk dieses von Gott selbst gesetzten Heilandes nun von Gott selber als vollgültig anerkannt worden ist. Gerade weil er Jesus Christus ist, der von Gott gesetzte Messias, darum ist er von den Toten auferweckt; und gerade die Tatsache, daß er von den Toten auferweckt ist, ist ein absolut unwiderleglicher Beweis, daß er in der Tat ist Jesus Christus, der gesalbte Seligmacher. Was hast du für einen gewaltigen, herrlichen Heiland! Daran gedenke! Dann mögen Ungläubige seiner und deiner spotten; dann mögen die Weisen dieser Welt dich verlachen, daß du dich an einen Gekreuzigten hältst, daß du Leben und Seligkeit durch den von seinen eigenen Volksgenossen verworfenen Jesum erwartest. Laß sie spotten, laß sie verachten! Gott selber hat diesen Jesum anerkannt. Gott ist mit seinem Werk zufrieden. Gott war in

Christo und versöhnte die Welt mit ihm selber, 2 Kor. 5, 19. Und zum Zeichen dafür hat er ihn auferweckt und zu seiner Rechten gesetzt, Eph. 1, 20. Halt im Gedächtnis Jesum Christum als einen aus Toten Auferweckten! Dann wird es dir gehen, wie es Petrus und Johannes erging, Apost. 4, 20; 1 Joh. 1, 1—3. Denn was sie mit Augen des Leibes und des Glaubens gesehen haben, das hast du mit den Augen deines Glaubens gesehen und wirst es dereinst mit den Augen deines Leibes sehen, wenn dieser unsrer Augen Licht wird ihn, unsern Heiland, schauen. Wie sollten wir uns des Zeugnisses eines solchen Herrn schämen? 1 Tim. 1, 8. Wie sollten wir um seinetwillen nicht alles leiden? Wissen wir doch: R. 12.

„Halt im Gedächtnis Jesum Christum, der auferstanden ist von den Toten, aus dem Samen Davids!“ Mit diesen Worten wird einmal hingewiesen auf die Tatsache, daß Jesus Christus ein wirklicher Mensch war. Jesus hat sein Werk — das will der Apostel besonders hervorheben — nicht nur als allmächtiger Gottessohn ausgerichtet, sondern ebenso gewiß als wahrer Mensch, als einer, der aus dem menschlichen Geschlecht, aus dem Samen Davids, stammt. Sein Fleisch und Blut war, wenn es auch vom Heiligen Geist geheiligt worden war, doch wirklich und wahrhaftig aus Marias Fleisch und Blut geboren. Und Maria war aus dem Hause und Geschlechte Davids. Als wahrer Mensch litt und starb er. Und als wahrer Mensch fühlte, empfand er alle Leiden aufs tiefste und schmerzlichste. Als wahrer Mensch empfand er des Todes Grausen, seine herbe Bitterkeit, Luk. 12, 50; Matth. 26, 37, 38; Luk. 22, 44; Hebr. 5, 7. Als wahrer Mensch hat er aber auch ausgeharrt im Leiden, ausgeharrt in der Gottverlassenheit, die wir Christen nie durchzumachen haben, weil er sie für uns in ihrer ganzen Gräßlichkeit getragen und abgebüßt hat, er, der wahre Mensch aus dem Samen Davids. Daran gedente! Laß das deinen Trost sein! Folge nun aber auch seinem Beispiel nach! Wenn auch viele sich abwenden, wenn auch viele meinen, es sei zu schwer, das Christentum fordere zu viel, es verlange übermenschliches, halt im Gedächtnis das treue Ausharren Jesu, des Menschen aus dem Samen Davids, und leide dich, 4, 5, und sei stark, mein Sohn, durch die Gnade in Christo Jesu, 2, 1. — Doch in dem Ausdruck „aus dem Samen Davids“ liegt noch mehr. Dieser Mensch Jesus ist aus dem Samen Davids geboren gemäß der Verheißung des wunderbaren Gottes, die zu seiner Zeit erfüllt werden mußte. Gemäß dieser Verheißung sollte aber der Davidsproß nicht nur als wahrer Mensch geboren, sondern auch von den Toten auferweckt werden, Ps. 16, 10. Man vergleiche Apost. 13, 34, 35, wo die Auferweckung Jesu von den Toten ebenfalls auf die Tatsache zurückgeführt wird, daß Gott seine Verheißung, die er David gegeben habe, treulich gehalten habe. Auch diese Tatsache soll dem Timotheus und allen Predigern, ja allen Christen zum Trost und zur Mahnung dienen. So gewiß Gott diese Verheißung der Geburt Jesu aus dem Samen Davids und seiner

Auferweckung zu seiner Zeit treulich erfüllt hat, so gewiß wird er alle seine Verheißungen halten, 2 Kor. 1, 20; so gewiß wird er auch seinerzeit, selbst wenn ihr dahingefunken seid in des Todes Staub, euch wieder auferwecken. Welch eine herrliche Aufmunterung zu getrostem Bekenntnis Jesu, einerlei was wir darüber zu leiden haben!

Noch ein Wort fügt der Apostel seiner Mahnung hinzu, das Wort „nach meinem Evangelio“. Der Apostel nennt das Evangelium sein Evangelium, nicht weil er es sich selbst ausgedacht hätte, sondern weil es ihm anvertraut wurde und er es durch den Glauben zu seinem eigenen Evangelium gemacht hatte. Der Ton liegt übrigens gar nicht auf *meinem*. Das Pronomen ist enklitisch, tonlos. Die ganze Wucht des Tones liegt auf „Evangelio“. Das ist das herrliche Evangelium des seligen Gottes, wie es Paulus selber nannte, 1 Tim. 1, 11; das Evangelium, das schon in der Schrift des Alten Testaments niedergelegt worden ist und das seine seligmachende Kraft offenbart, 3, 6. Das ist ein Evangelium, das zurückdatiert bis in die Zeit des Königs Davids, zurückdatiert ins Paradies, ja bis in die Ewigkeit, da Gott diesen seligen Ratsschluß faßte und zugleich sich entschloß, daß solches zu seiner Zeit verflündet werde, 1 Tim. 1, 9. 10; 2, 6. Das ist ein Evangelium, das wirklich Evangelium, frohe Botschaft, ist; nicht ist es ein zweites Gesetz, das den Menschen allerlei Forderungen stellt. Das gerade Gegenteil; Inhalt des Evangeliums ist das Wort des Heilandes am Kreuz „Es ist vollbracht“. Die Sünde der Welt ist abgebußt. Das Gesetz mit seinen Forderungen und Drohungen, die Handschrift, die wider uns war, ist aus dem Mittel getan; der Teufel ein geschlagener Feind; der Tod mit seiner Macht überwunden; die Pforten der Hölle zerbrochen; die Welt, die uns zusetzen will, besiegt. Das ist das Evangelium, das ich, Paulus, predige. Willst du aber, Timotheus, das alles behalten, willst du Christum behalten, willst du den Sieg behalten, dann behalte treu mein Evangelium. Mit dem Evangelium verliert man Christum. Mit dem Evangelium behält man aber auch Christum, den von den Toten Auferstandenen, und aus dem Evangelium wird dann uns immer wieder Kraft zufließen zu getrostem Leiden, daß uns im Dienst des Wortes, im allgemeinen Zeugnamt, nichts zu schwer erscheint. Daher hat der Apostel im ganzen Zusammenhang gemahnt, nicht bloß Christo, sondern auch dem Evangelium treu zu bleiben, 1, 8. 10—13; 2, 1—3.

„Über welchem ich mich leide bis an die Bande als ein Übeltäter. Aber Gottes Wort ist nicht gebunden“, 2, 9. Der Apostel kommt nun auf sich selbst zu sprechen, führt sich selbst als Beispiel treuer Standhaftigkeit an, nicht aus Stolz und Selbstüberhebung, sondern um seinem Schüler zu zeigen, daß er nichts Unmögliches fordere, und um ihm zu gleicher Standhaftigkeit Mut zu machen, indem er ihm nicht nur Christi vollkommenes Beispiel, sondern zugleich sein eigenes menschliches Beispiel vor Augen stellt. Daß der Apostel dabei nicht auf eigene Kraft sich verläßt, ist jedem selbstverständlich, der ihn kennt. „Ich leide mich“,

das heißt eigentlich, ich leide übel. Man braucht nur die Lebensgeschichte des Apostels sich zu vergegenwärtigen, man braucht nur diesen Brief an Timotheus zu lesen und dann hinzuzunehmen, was der Apostel 2 Kor. 11, 23—28 schreibt, um einen schwachen Begriff von dem übel zu bekommen, das der Apostel alltäglich zu leiden hatte, seit er dort auf dem Wege nach Damaskus die Frage an seinen Heiland gestellt hatte: „Was willst du, daß ich tun soll?“ Apost. 9, 6. In der Tat, er litt „bis an die Bande“; lag er doch gebunden im Gefängnis. Und er litt das „als ein Übeltäter“, als wäre er ein Übeltäter, ein Verbrecher. Als solcher war er ja allüberall, wohin er seinen Fuß setzte, verschrien. Und wie Tacitus uns berichtet, daß die ersten Christen wegen ihrer angeblichen Verbrechen bei dem Volk verhaßt waren und ihr Glaube als ein verderblicher Aberglaube angesehen wurde, so war auch Paulus als gemeiner Verbrecher und Übeltäter ins Gefängnis gelegt worden. Auch darin war er seinem Heiland gleich geworden, der unter die Übeltäter gerechnet wurde, Jes. 53, 12. Solches Beispiel hielt Paulus seinem Schüler vor, damit auch er lerne mit Paulus sprechen: Phil. 4, 12, 13. Bis an die Bande, hatte der Apostel gesagt, leide er übel. Das tat ihm weh, daß er gebunden war, nicht weil diese Schmach Christi ihm zu schwer erschien, sondern weil er dadurch an der Ausrichtung seines eigentlichen Zeugenamtes gehindert wurde. Vgl. Apost. 26, 29. Doch tröstete er sich: „Aber Gottes Wort ist nicht gebunden.“ Der Prediger kann gebunden, dem Prediger kann der Mund gestopft, des Predigers Lippen können zum Schweigen gebracht werden, aber die Predigt des Evangeliums kann nicht gebunden, nicht zum Schweigen gebracht werden. Die erschallt weiter. Diese Predigt ist eben, wie der Apostel sagt, Gottes Wort, das Wort des allmächtigen Schöpfers und Erlösers, der durch dies Wort seinen unumstößlichen Rat zur Seligkeit ausführen will, Menschen von der Finsternis zum Licht zu bekehren, Menschen zu seligen Gotteskindern zu machen. Und diese Absicht kann kein Mensch, kein Teufel, keine Hölle vereiteln. Gottes Wort ist nicht gebunden. Was für ein Trost liegt in dieser Tatsache für den Prediger, für jeden Christen! Johannes der Täufer wird ins Gefängnis gelegt und enthauptet; aber seine Predigt wird durch Jesus weitergeführt. Stephanus, der treue Zeuge, gibt seinen Geist auf unter den Steinswürfen der wütenden Gegner; aber die da zerstreut waren in der Trübsal, die sich über Stephanus erhob, gingen umher und redeten das Wort, Apost. 11, 19. Paulus liegt gebunden im Gefängnis; aber, Gott sei Dank, damit ist Gottes Wort nicht gebunden; es nimmt seinen ruhigen Fortgang. Wie manches Menschenwerk vergeht, wenn der Mensch, der es angefangen hat, dahinstirbt! Das Werk, das der evangelische Prediger tut, das Werk, an dem jeder Christ sich beteiligt, das Werk der Predigt des Evangeliums, ist nicht Menschenwerk, vergängliches Werk. Es ist die unvergängliche Predigt des ewigen Gottes, Luk. 19, 40; 21, 33. Das sollen sich alle Prediger, ja alle Christen merken und daher fröhlich weiterzeugen trotz Trübsal, Verfolgung, Not und Tod.



„Darum dulde ich alles um der Auserwählten willen, auf daß auch sie die Seligkeit erlangen in Christo Iesu mit ewiger Herrlichkeit“, 2. 10. Weil Gottes Wort nicht gebunden ist, darum will Paulus gerne alles leiden um dieses herrlichen Evangeliums willen. Und nun fügt er einen weiteren Grund seiner Leidenswilligkeit hinzu. Solches Leiden ist nötig auch um der Auserwählten willen. Wenn auch viele dem Evangelium nicht gehorchen (vgl. 2, 17. 18. 25; 4, 10), so sind doch immer unter denen, die das Wort hören, auserwählte Gotteskinder, Apost. 13, 48; Eph. 1, 4—6; Röm. 8, 29. 30. Welch ein erhebender Gedanke, daß Gott uns sterbliche Menschen benutzt, um ein Werk hinauszuführen, dessen Anfänge schon in der Ewigkeit liegen, dessen Vollendung der Ewigkeit angehört! Wenn es zur Befeligung dieser Auserwählten nötig ist, daß wir in Geduld ausharren, sollten wir da nicht gerne leiden, willig dulden? Ist der Umstand, daß wir durch unser Beispiel mit beitragen, daß Auserwählte im Glauben beharren, nicht schon ein seliger Gnadenlohn, viel zu herrlich für unsere kurze Mühe und Arbeit? In dem Wort „auch“ liegt ja, daß wir mit ihnen, sie mit uns, Seligkeit und Herrlichkeit genießen werden, Freude und Ehre, liebliches Wesen zur Rechten Gottes und höchsten Ruhm und Glorie immer und ewiglich. Welch kräftige Aufmunterung zu freudigem Zeugnis!

„Das ist je gewißlich wahr: sterben wir mit, so werden wir mit leben; dulden wir, so werden wir mit herrschen; verleugnen wir, so wird er uns auch verleugnen. Glauben wir nicht, so bleibet er treu; er kann sich selbst nicht leugnen“, 2. 11—13. Es mag gar wohl sein, daß der Apostel hier einen uralten Hymnus zitiert. Vgl. 1 Tim. 3, 16 ff. Der Apostel gebraucht die drei Haupttempora, Gegenwart, Vergangenheit und Zukunft. In der Vergangenheit sind die Christen gestorben, in der Gegenwart dulden sie, für die Zukunft haben sie nur das eine zu fürchten, daß sie verleugnen. „Sterben wir mit“, das heißt eigentlich, sind wir mitgestorben. Damit ist hingewiesen auf das Sterben des alten Adams, das in der Befehrung des Christen seinen Anfang genommen hat. Vgl. Röm. 6, 2—11; 8, 10; Kol. 3, 3. Stöckhardt sagt: „Was eigentlich am Sterben bitter ist, das kosten und erfahren die Christen schon vor dem Sterben in diesem Leben. Denn das ist Gottes Wille, daß wir hienieden bei Leibesleben der Sünde sterben, das Fleisch ertöten, der Welt entsagen. Und das können wir tun in der Kraft des Todes Iesu Christi. Wir sind seines Todes teilhaftig durch den Glauben. In der Kraft des Todes Christi, des Sohnes Gottes, sterben wir der Sünde alle Tage und töten die Glieder, die auf Erden sind, und sterben also schon heizzeiten dieser Welt ab. Wir halten eben dafür, daß wir schon der Sünde, der Welt gestorben sind, Röm. 6, 11. Durch den Tod des Sohnes Gottes ist auch die Macht der Herrschaft der Sünde gebrochen. Wir können durch ihn über die Sünde herrschen und siegen. So tragen wir alle Tage das Sterben des Herrn Iesu mit uns herum.“ (Passionspredigten, II, 118.)

Solche, die mit Christo gestorben sind, die dann auch mit Christo aus diesem Leben scheiden, werden dann auch mit ihm leben, Röm. 14, 8, aus dem Leben der Unvollkommenheit ins vollkommene Leben der Ewigkeit und Seligkeit eingehen. „Dulden wir.“ Das Präsens zeigt an, daß Dulden der Zustand eines jeden Christen auf Erden ist. Dulden heißt eigentlich festen Mutz bleiben, den Leiden nicht ausweichen, wenn sie an uns herantreten, und unter ihnen treu ausharren. Was Drangsal ist, weiß unsere heutige Christenheit kaum. Als der Apostel dies schrieb, zogen sich schwarz und trübsalschwanger die Wolken der Verfolgung am Himmel zusammen. Einmal über das andere brach der Sturm blutigster Verfolgung über die Christen herein. Da hieß es festbleiben, alle Kräfte anspannen, daß man ja nicht wankte noch weiche. Wie mancher Christ wird dann auch, durch dies Wort des Apostels und durch sein Beispiel ermutigt, getrost ins Gefängnis und in den Tod gegangen sein! Dulden wir, so werden wir mit herrschen, schon hier auf Erden herrschen über uns selbst, herrschen über Sünde und Welt, über Tod und Todesgrauen. Wie oft hat sich das an den Christen jener Zeit bewahrheitet! Nicht jene Feinde des Christentums, nicht jene grausamen Kaiser, nicht jene blutdürstige Volksmenge waren die Herrscher, sondern die wahren Könige, die wahren Herrscher, waren die Christen, die den Löwen zur Beute fielen; vgl. Röm. 8, 35. Droben herrschen wir mit Christo zusammen; vgl. Luf. 22, 29. 30; 1 Kor. 6, 3.

„Verleugnen wir.“ Der Apostel gebraucht das Futur. Noch haben wir nicht verleugnet, aber die Möglichkeit ist vorhanden, 1 Kor. 10, 12. Was verleugnen heißt, lernen wir aus Matt. 26, 72. 74. Satan weiß, daß für einen Christen nichts so verhängnisvoll ist als Verleugnung Jesu. Darum sucht er im Verein mit Welt und Fleisch die Christen zu dieser Sünde zu verführen. Daher ist die Warnung des Apostels immer am Platze. Verleugnen wir Jesum, so wird er uns auch verleugnen, Luf. 13, 27. Wer wird uns dann den Himmel öffnen? Wie der Apostel zweimal die Verheißung erwähnt hat, so warnt er auch zweimal. „Glauben wir nicht, so bleibet er treu.“ Das Wort *ἀπορῶ* heißt allerdings auch ungläubig sein, kommt aber auch in der Bedeutung untreu sein und werden vor, Röm. 3, 3. Diese Bedeutung hat es auch hier, da es im Gegensatz steht zu *πιστός* im Nachsatz, was unmöglich gläubig, sondern nur treu, zuverlässig heißen kann. Wenn wir Gott untreu werden, uns als wankelmütige, unzuverlässige Leute erweisen, die das hohe Gut der Vergebung und der Seligkeit durch Unglauben verschätzen, so wird doch unser Unglaube, unsere Untreue, Gottes Wahrheit und Zuverlässigkeit nicht aufheben. Er wird um unsertwillen sich nicht ändern. Er kann sich selbst nicht leugnen, 4 Mos. 23, 19; Ps. 102, 28. Er wird auch keinen andern Plan zur Seligkeit fassen, sondern dann gilt Eph. 5, 6; Hebr. 10, 26—31. Welch eine gewaltige Mahnung zum treuen Ausharren im Glauben und im leidenswilligen Zeugnis!

Der Apostel mahnt seinen Schüler und damit alle Christen, ihrem Heilande und seinem Evangelium treu zu bleiben, und führt triftige Gründe dafür ins Feld. Eine Disposition, die den ganzen Text umspannt, wäre etwa die folgende: Halte im Gedächtnis Jesum Christum! 1. Um des Heilandes willen; 2. um der Auserwählten willen; 3. um deiner selbst willen. — Oder man zeige, warum wir in dieser gefährlichen Zeit am Evangelium festhalten sollen: weil dies Wort von Christo zeugt, weil es nicht gebunden ist, weil es selig macht. — Oder man lehre die Nothwendigkeit hervor, am Evangelium festzuhalten, weil wir dann allein Jesum im Gedächtnis behalten, dann allein zu freudigem Zeugnis willig und dann allein leben und herrschen werden. — Der Apostel lehrt sonderlich die Menschheit Jesu hervor. Der Mensch Jesus ist auferstanden von den Toten. Das wollen wir Menschen ihm nie vergessen; darum wollen wir Menschen gerne mit ihm leiden (natürlich das Leiden um des Zeugnisses willen hervorhehen); dann werden wir Menschen mit ihm ewig leben. — Wie da schon auf Ostern Bezug genommen wird, so auch in den folgenden Dispositionen: Jesus Christus ist auferstanden von den Toten. Darum wollen wir uns seiner nicht schämen. (B. 8—10); darum werden wir auch mit ihm herrschen, freilich nur wenn wir mit ihm sterben und dulden; dann aber auch ganz gewiß. — Cantate erinnert an unsere Lieder, gerade auch an die herrlichen Osterlieder, voller Trost und Mahnung. Es mag sein, daß B. 11 ff. unsers Textes ein alter Hymnus ist. Aber der ganze Text ist ein rechter Ostergesang, auf der Ostertatsache fußend, die Ostertatsache anwendend. Darum halt im Gedächtnis Jesum Christum! Er ist es wert, B. 8—10; nur dann werden wir selig, B. 11—13.

L. Lätjch.

## Dispositionen zu Leichenreden.

### 1.

Jes. 49, 15.

(Für ein verunglücktes Kind.)

Ein überaus trauriges Ereignis hat uns zusammengeführt. Begraben ein zweijähriges Kind, das einzige Kind. In einem unbewachten Augenblick am Abend fortgelaufen. Trotz alles Suchens erst am nächsten Morgen gefunden, tot, in einem Graben ertrunken.

Welch ein Herzeleid! Viel Theilnahme. Ihr erwartet nun von mir Trost und Anleitung, wie ein solch schreckliches Unglück anzusehen ist, wie uns darein zu schicken. Dieses schweren Amtes will ich nun mit Gottes Hilfe warten. Richtet eure tränenschweren Augen fest auf die machtvollen, trostreichen Worte unsers Textes. Auf Grund derselben rufe ich euch zu:

**Gott vergißt die Seinen nie.**

## 1.

Gott vergißt die Seinen nie. Das Gegentheil scheint der Fall zu sein. Mußte nicht das kleine Kind da allein in der finsternen Nacht umherirren? Hunderte waren emsig am Suchen. Die Eltern flehten und beteten. Wo waren da die Engel, von denen die Schrift sagt? Hätte Gott sie nicht senden können? Hätte Gott nicht das Kind heimgeleitet oder die Sucher recht führen können? Hatte Gott denn des Kindes vergessen? — So argumentiert der Unglaube. Solche Gedanken kommen auch in das verzagte Menschenherz. Aber hört nicht auf solche Gedanken; hört auf Gottes Wort! Hier steht's. (Text.) Sage, du Mutter, hattest du dein Söhnlein vergessen? Welche Angst hast du nicht ausgestanden! Wie hast du die Hände gerungen in flehentlichem Beten und Schreien zu Gott! Und du, Vater, der du unermüßlich suchtest, in dessen Auge die ganze Nacht kein Schlaf kam! Solche Angst, solche Mühe! Das ist doch wahrlich alles andere, nur nicht vergessen. Aber nun hört: Größer, unendlich größer als eure Liebe zu eurem Kinde ist Gottes Liebe zu ihm. Noch viel, viel weniger als ihr hat Gott eures Kindleins vergessen. Gott vergißt die Seinen nie. Was bei Menschen möglich, denkbar ist, ist bei Gott nicht möglich.

Denn was hat Gott an eurem Kinde getan? Gott hat ihm nicht allein das leibliche Leben gegeben und bis an den genannten Zeitpunkt erhalten, sondern es auch, als es in der Gewalt des Teufels, der Sünde und des ewigen Todes war, erlöst. Zu dem Ende hat er seinen eingebornen Sohn leiden und sterben lassen. Denkt an diese über alle Maßen herrliche Liebe Gottes! Dann hat er dafür gesorgt, daß dem Kindlein in der heiligen Taufe das ewige Heil zugeeignet wurde. Nun war es sein Kind. Nun war sein Vaterauge offen über ihm. Er sandte seine heiligen Engel, daß sie es zu ihm in den Himmel tragen mußten. Es ist nun der bösen Welt entrückt.

Das ist doch wahrlich kein Vergessen. Seht daher nicht an die ungewöhnliche Art seines Abscheidens. Gott weiß, warum er so und nicht anders mit eurem Kinde gehandelt hat.

## 2.

Aber wie steht es mit euch, ihr schwergetroffenen Eltern? Gerade in solch schwerer Trübsal denken wir gar leicht, Gott habe uns vergessen. Das Bewußtsein unserer Sündhaftigkeit, unserer Unwürdigkeit, bringt das mit sich. Aber was sagt unser Text? Das gilt auch euch Eltern. So wie ihr sorgtet, bangtet um euer Kind, so wie ihr euer Kind suchtet, so sorgt Gott für die Seinen, so sucht er sie. Ja, euer Tun ist nur ein schwaches Abbild von dem, was Gott tut. Gott hat für die Seinen seinen Plan bereit, wie er einen jeden zum Glauben bringen, im Glauben erhalten und zur Seligkeit führen will.

Wir machen es oft so wie dies Kindlein. Wandern oft unsere eigenen Wege, fort vom himmlischen Vater, irren ab. Aber Gott ver-

gibt uns nicht. Gott sucht uns. Und er versteht das Suchen. Sucht wohl durch Trübsal usw. Wen Gott liebhat, den züchtigt er. Trübsal der Kinder Gottes ein Beweis, daß Gott sie sucht. So will er euch näher zu sich ziehen; ihr sollt mehr an ihn denken, mehr trachten nach dem, was droben ist, die Herzen mehr und mehr vom Irdischen losmachen.

Wenn wir erst droben sind, werden wir ihm noch danken, daß er uns nie vergessen, sondern stets gesucht hat.

Das sollen wir alle uns gesagt sein lassen. Durch dieses Ereignis wird die ganze Gegend aufgefordert, beizeiten das Ende zu bedenken. Wie steht es mit dir? Ist alles besorgt? Ist alles in Ordnung? Brauche deine Gnadenzeit recht. Laß dich finden in der Zeit, da Gott dich sucht. Nimm beizeiten deine Zuflucht zu Jesu, der die Auferstehung und das Leben ist. Du wirst es dann auch erfahren, daß Gott die Seinen nie vergißt.

H. J. Bouman.

## 2.

### Apost. 17, 26—31.

(Rede im Hause einer christlichen Familie, die privatim sich ansiedelt, ein dahingefahrenes Familienglied zu begraben, das den Glauben zuvor verleugnet hat.)

Einleitung an Hand des Liedes Nr. 5, 1—3.

Auch in dieser Trauerstunde halten wir uns an Gottes Wort.

1. Da werden wir vor Sünden gewarnt.
2. Da holen wir uns göttlichen Trost.

### 1.

A. Warnung vor Sünden, die das Böse in schriftwidriger Weise erklären wollen. a. Vor der Sünde, daß man sagt, daß es keinen Gott, keine Offenbarung, keine Vorsehung, kein Gericht Gottes gibt, daß Leben und Sterben vielmehr nur Zufall ist. Zu solchem Heidentum werden Christen in bitteren Stunden, wie diese es ist, angefochten. Die Schrift lehrt im Text, daß es einen Gott gibt, daß er sich den Menschen geoffenbart hat (natürliche Erkenntnis, B. 28 f.; Schriftoffenbarung, B. 30 f.) und daß es keinen Zufall gibt; im Gegenteil: Vorsehung Gottes, B. 26. Darum hüten wir uns vor Zweifel an Gottes Dasein und gerechter Regierung. — b. Vor der Lüge, daß Gott nach Willkür das Schicksal des Menschen bestimmt habe und mancher Menschen Seligkeit nicht wolle. Diese Lüge tritt auch den Christen nahe, wenn sie Gottes Wege nicht mit der Vernunft reimen können. Die Schrift lehrt, daß Gott keines Menschen Verdammnis will, sondern allen Menschen an allen Enden gebet, Buße zu tun, B. 30, und jedermann vorhält, den Glauben, B. 31. Er ist auch der dahingefahrenen Person so nahe getreten und hat ihr die Erlösung geoffenbart und sie zum Glauben aufgefordert. Auch uns ruft er zur Buße und zum Glauben an Jesum zur Seligkeit. — c. Vor der Lüge, daß Gott seine Strafe ermäßigen und auch Unbußfertige in den



Himmel nehmen wird; daß Gott also Sünde billige und den Menschen nicht dafür verantwortlich halten dürfe; daß schließlich er selbst für alles Böse verantwortlich sei, B. 28, da wir ohne ihn nicht bestehen können. Wie leicht vergessen wir uns und kommen auf solche Gedanken zur Erklärung unserer und anderer Leute Sünde! Unser Text beweist, daß Gott das Böse nicht will, daß er es straft, die Toren vor Unglauben warnt, zur Buße ruft und zum Heiland bringen will. Hüten wir uns, Gott zu beschuldigen, daß er das Böse, das jetzt vor unsern Augen ist, verursacht oder gewollt habe. — d. Wir dürfen keine Sünde entschuldigen, beschönigen, etwa gar auf Kosten der Heiligkeit Gottes leugnen wollen. Eli hat die Sünden seiner Söhne nicht Gott zugeschoben, und David hat seinen Sohn Absalom nicht entschuldigt. Ein Christ zürnt nicht mit Gott. Gott bleibt rein, wenn er gerichtet wird, Ps. 51, 6. Wo liegt die Schuld der heutigen Trauer? Nicht bei Gott, nicht bei euch, nicht in Unwissenheit der verstorbenen Person, sondern wie Absalom, der König Saul und Demas selbst schuldig und verantwortlich waren für ihre Sünde, so auch diese Person.

B. Warnung vor Nachgedanken. a. Das traurige Herz möchte von Zorn und Haß erfüllt werden gegen solche, die an diesem Todesfall mit Schuld tragen, insofern sie das abgefallene Familienglied in der Sünde des Abfalls und Unglaubens bestärkt haben. — b. Der Text warnt uns vor Nachgedanken; denn er lehrt, daß Gott den Erdboden richten wird, und zwar mit Gerechtigkeit. Vgl. Röm. 12, 19. — c. Hüten wir uns darum auch vor Nachsicht, und beweisen wir uns auch in dieser Stunde als Kinder des Lichts!

## 2.

A. Wenn ihr keine Christen wäret, dann würde dieser Trauerfall euch nicht so sehr ansprechen; denn die Welt hält Verachtung der Gnade Gottes für etwas Geringses. Aber weil ihr euch an Gott und sein Wort haltet, trifft euch dieser Fall so hart. Eure Trauer ist ganz anderer Art als die der Weltkinder, weil ihr das Wort des Gesetzes Gottes kennt und annimmt, das den Unbußfertigen Gottes Zorn und Fluch verkündigt. Ist für euch kein Trost vorhanden? Ja, die Schrift bietet euch reichen, göttlichen Trost an.

B. B. 30. 31. a. Betrachten wir die Liebe Gottes in Christo Jesu; denn das ist der Glaube, den Gott jedermann vorhält. Ihr kennt die innige, opfernde, entsagende Liebe Jesu. Diese ist ganz euer. Denkt an euer eigenes Sündenelend. Freut euch des Herrn Jesu und dankt ihm, daß er euch erlöst und zur Annahme der Vergebung eurer Sünden geführt hat und durch die offene Himmelstür euch zu sich zieht. Die Auferweckung Jesu von den Toten ist Gottes Siegel auf das Erlösungswort seines geliebten Sohnes. Erkennt Gottes Gnade an euch, die euch auch in dieser Stunde mächtig bewegt, die drei Artikel des christlichen Glaubens kindlich und vertrauensvoll zu beten. Könnt ihr dem Herrn Jesu solche Liebe je vergelten? — b. Der lebendige Heiland wird wiederkom-

men als Richter. Er selbst hat uns das Gericht geschildert. Er wird richten mit Gerechtigkeit; ausschlaggebend wird sein Joh. 3, 18. 35. 36. Diesem Richterspruch Christi stimmen wir jetzt schon bei, weil es der gerechte Richterspruch unsers hochgelobten Heilandes ist. Wir sagen allen Ungläubigen: Ihr sucht den Herrn Jesum nicht, und so schließt ihr euch vom Himmel aus und bringt euch in das ewige Verderben. So richtet Jesus, und so richten wir mit ihm. So erfüllen wir Matth. 7, 1, weil nicht wir, sondern Jesus richtet und wir in seinem Namen, 1 Kor. 6, 2a. 3a. — c. Werden wir dann, in strahlender Herrlichkeit, in vollkommener Übereinstimmung mit dem Willen Gottes, allen denen entsagen, die von Christo gerichtet werden, werden wir dann uns mit Christo von den Verurtheilten abwenden und Christo nachgehen in das ewige Leben, warum sollten wir nicht jetzt schon mit heiligem Ernst denen entsagen, die uns mit ihren Sünden die Nachfolge Christi so schwer machen? Zu solcher Liebe zu ihm und zu solcher Absagung auch unserer nächsten Verwandten ermuntert uns Jesus Matth. 10, 37. Und solche Entsagung läßt er nicht unbelohnt, Matth. 19, 27—30. Ja, er selbst handelt als unser Heiland und Vorbild nach diesem Grundsatz des ersten Gebots: Mark. 3, 31—35. Die geistliche Blutsverwandtschaft, so innig verbunden durch das Blut Christi, steht uns näher als die leibliche Blutsverwandtschaft. Ja, schon in unserer heiligen Taufe haben wir allem Bösen entsagt und sind Christo einverleibt. — d. Weil ihr dem Gericht entgangen seid, wißt ihr auch, daß eure Trauer nicht lange währen wird. Uns Christen ist Christi Wiederkunft zum Gericht Evangelium. Er wird an jenem Tage Joh. 10, 28 ganz wunderbarlich zur Vollendung bringen. Indessen wird er euren Glauben auch in dieser Stunde so stärken, daß ihr seht und liebt Jesum allein. G. H. Sm u l l.

### 3.

#### Gal. 2, 20.

Preached at the Funeral of Pastor J. W. Theiss.

The unbeliever misunderstands the Christian because he does not know Christ. The believer knows Christ and is able to give an account of himself and his life.

#### The Christian's Noble Confession in Life and Death:

1. *I am Crucified with Christ.*
2. *I Live with Christ.*

#### 1.

A. Text. a. Paul says: "I am crucified with Christ." He presents Christ as a person crucified. Christ was condemned to death by crucifixion. The cross was laid upon Him that He should bear it to "the place of a skull," John 19, 17. There He, the Lamb of God, was elevated, lifted up, to die on the accursed tree. His death by crucifixion is a matter of record. — b. Paul says: "I am crucified with Christ."

Paul presents himself as a person crucified. If he died, he must have had life before. What a life it was! A life of sin and iniquity, of pride and self-righteousness, of black desires and murderous deeds. That life of his ceased by crucifixion. Yet he displayed no outward, physical marks of a death by crucifixion; his hands and feet were whole and not pierced. — c. Paul says: "I am crucified with Christ," along with Christ, by the death of Christ upon the cross. Both, then, Christ and Paul, are crucified. Yet Paul was not one of the two malefactors crucified with Christ. Paul may not have been physically present on Calvary. Still he was present with Christ. He was crucified by proxy. Christ was his Substitute. Christ loved Paul and gave Himself for Paul.

B. *Application.* a. 2 Cor. 5, 14b. 15; Is. 53, 4. 5. Hence we were crucified with Christ, as to time, 1900 years ago; as to consequence, pronounced dead; as to effect, dead to sin, to the Law, to death; for Christ loved us and gave Himself for us, Rom. 5, 8—21; Heb. 2, 9b. — b. This word is familiar to us: "I am crucified with Christ." We read it and hear it; we believe it and thank God for it. Of this word we were often reminded by our now sainted father, brother, pastor, and teacher. He preached not only to us, but to himself also when he said: "I am crucified with Christ." He was a crucified person; yet he was not Christ, but crucified with Christ. This we say to his memory and to the glory of the grace of God—he was a crucified person, crucified with Christ. — c. It requires no faith to have been crucified with Christ, Rom. 5, 6. 8. 10; but faith is required to confess and confidently to apply "I am crucified with Christ." This faith makes the Christian.

## 2.

*Alive.* A. Text. a. Now follow words which seem to be nothing but contradictions: "Nevertheless I live, yet not I," etc. Some have endeavored to solve this seeming contradiction by assuming a multiple personality of Paul: the conscious I, the subconscious I, the subliminal self, etc. Paul is not applying psychology. He applies Christ by faith. We have here an argument running in both directions, forward and backward. b. The forward argument: aa. I live. Paul's old life terminated at the cross of Christ. A new life began in him, but bb. not I, but Christ lives. However, cc. Christ lives in me. Because Christ lives in me, therefore I live. c. The other argument: aa. Christ lives, Rom. 4, 25; 1, 4; 1 Pet. 3, 18. bb. Christ lives in me. I am Christ's branch, John 15, 5; His temple, John 14, 23; His life is my life, Col. 3, 3. 4. cc. Therefore I live. The old Saul of Tarsus is no more. I am Paul, the apostle of Jesus Christ, God's child and heir. d. Paul lives his life in Christ, and Christ lives His life in Paul, while Paul is still in the flesh, in this body, which is glorious in God's sight by reason of Christ's merit, accepted by faith. It requires no

faith to have been crucified with Christ, 2 Pet. 2, 1; 1 John 2, 2; but faith is required to live by Christ: I live by the faith of the Son of God. Life is activity. Paul is active by Christ, for Christ is active in him.

*B. Application.* a. Keep the departed Christian in this sacred memory. We beheld Christ in him and him in Christ. He applied to himself by faith the infinite love of the Savior. He gave evidence of his life in Christ. He has left beautiful expressions of his life in Christ as a Christian poet and writer and lasting impressions on individuals and on the Church by his pastoral and synodical work, ever breathing the life of Christ in him. b. Let us heed the doctrine and the example, and let us live in hope; for God's grace extends justification and sanctification into eternal life, Col. 3, 1—4; 1 Cor. 15, 58.

*Conclusion.* — The Christian, dead, alive, what attitude do you take toward him? Acts 17, 18. 19. 32—34a; Luke 10, 16.

G. H. SMUKAL.

#### 4.

*Epr. 27, 1.*

Während der letzten Wochen haben wir uns öfters zu Zeichengottesdiensten hier versammelt. Aber der heutige Fall ist ein ganz besonders trauriger. In den Särgen vor uns liegen die sterblichen Überreste dreier unserer Brüder, die in einem entsetzlichen Automobilunfall plötzlich aus dem Leben gerufen worden sind. Wahrlich: Jes. 55, 8. 9. Obwohl wir Gottes Wege nicht ergründen können, so halten wir doch stets fest: Jer. 29, 11. Auch durch dieses Unglück will Gott uns zu sich ziehen, vor allem uns vor fleischlicher Sicherheit bewahren. Gott predigt in gewaltiger Weise

#### Von der Unsicherheit des menschlichen Lebens.

Es ist das

1. eine unleugbare Tatsache;
2. eine überaus wichtige Wahrheit.

#### 1.

Alle Menschen haben ihr irdisches Leben von Gott, 1 Mos. 1; *Epr.* 12, 1; erster Artikel. Doch weiß kein Mensch, wie lange er leben wird. (Text.) Leben und Tod sind nicht in unserer, sondern in Gottes Macht, Hiob 14, 1—5; 1 Mos. 27, 2; Ps. 103, 15. 16; Jes. 40, 6. 7. Nur ein Schritt zwischen uns und dem Tode, 1 Sam. 20, 3. Lied 429, 1. 2.

Das ist eine bekannte Tatsache, die durch die tägliche Erfahrung bestätigt wird. Das lehrt auch der vorliegende Unglücksfall. Unsere Brüder hatten gewiß keine Ahnung, daß ihr Ende so nahe bevorstehe. Kein Mensch kann wissen, was ihm der heutige Tag bringt. Das gilt

einem jeden von uns ohne Ausnahme. Oder meinst du, daß dir dergleichen nicht widerfahren könne? Dann lies Ps. 89, 49; Hiob 30, 23. Wir haben hier keine bleibende Stadt. Mahnung, diese Wahrheit wohl zu beherzigen.

## 2.

Salomo sagt: „Rühme dich nicht des morgenden Tages!“ Dein Leben, deine Gesundheit, dein Erfolg, deine Zukunft, deine Pläne liegen nicht in deiner Hand. Solches Rühmen flieht nicht aus dem Glauben, sondern ist in Wahrheit Auflehnung gegen Gott, von dem allein aller Segen kommt, und reizt ihn zum Zorn. Vgl. Luf. 12, 16—20. Unsere Zeit steht in Gottes Händen. Daher rühme dich nicht! Jak. 4, 13—16

Vielmehr sollen wir den jedesmaligen heutigen Tag zum Lob und Preis Gottes verwenden und doch ja nicht unsere Beteuerung aufschieben, Ps. 95, 7, 8; Phil. 2, 12. Wir sündigen täglich viel und verdienen eitel Zorn und Ungnade. Darum ist es täglich notwendig, seine Sünden zu bereuen, im Glauben Christum anzunehmen und sein Verdienst sich anzueignen. Weil wir täglich noch mit unserm Fleisch, mit der Welt und mit dem Teufel zu kämpfen haben, ist täglicher Widerstand nötig und daher fleißiger Gebrauch der Gnadenmittel und fleißiges Bitten um Weisheit und Stärke, den guten Kampf des Glaubens zu kämpfen, bis wir endlich gewinnen und den Sieg behalten. Anwendung auf den gegenwärtigen Fall. Trost, der aus der Tatsache fließt, daß wir des Glaubensstandes unserer entschlafenen Brüder gewiß sein können. Mahnung an alle Anwesenden, die Lehre zu Herzen zu nehmen.

F. S. Eggers.

## 5.

## Rom. 6, 23.

We are about to give a Christian burial to one who has met death by his own hand. This might seem very strange to such as are not acquainted with the circumstances. We know that a Christian burial shall not be given to wicked, ungodly persons who deliberately, knowingly, take their life. They go to their own place. However, as far as we have learned, the present case is not such a one. According to the witness of such as knew the mental condition of the deceased and according to the testimony of the physician the deceased was not responsible for his act; his mind was deranged. Moreover, we should observe that the deceased was a regular, diligent attendant at divine services, that he daily read his Bible, and even shortly before, together with his father, had held family devotion. Beloved, a Christian burial must not be denied him under these circumstances. The Church, however, in such cases, advises to have the burial as simple and quiet as possible. So let us draw comfort and instruction from the word of our God presented in the text.



## 1.

A. "The wages of sin is death." God had not created man for death. Man was created in God's image, in perfect righteousness and holiness. Man was immortal and happy and blessed in God's communion.

B. But sin came into the world. Man suffered himself to be misled by the devil; disregarded the Word and commandment of his God; ate of the forbidden fruit. Then came woe and misery. Man lost the blessed communion of God. He was ejected from Paradise. His body now was subjected to pain and sickness; his soul was polluted by sin. He fell a prey to death. Body and soul of man are separated in death, and eternal condemnation is his lot beyond the grave. Because of sin it is appointed unto all men to die. Death now is due a sinner when he has sinned, just as wages are due a servant when he has done his work. Death is caused by sin, Rom. 5, 12. How dreadful the bonds of death are with which all men are bound we may especially observe in our hospitals, in our sanatoria, and in our asylums for the insane. Death had also fastened its fetters upon the deceased when his mind became disturbed. "The wages of sin is death." Every man has deserved death because of his sins. The sinner, having transgressed the word and will of God, has forfeited life. For that reason fear and terror strike the heart and conscience of man, Heb. 2, 15. The soul must appear before its Judge, and woe unto him that has no other righteousness than his own! Rom. 3, 23; Heb. 10, 31.

How, then, can man escape the Judgment? How can he be delivered from his sins?

## 2.

A. Text, v. 23b. There is deliverance from the misery of death, a hope of eternal life. Where to be found? *Through Jesus Christ, our Lord.* It is Christ who purchased eternal life for us. His blood cleanseth, 1 John 1, 7; 2 Tim. 1, 10; Acts 4, 12; Is. 53, 4. 5. Christ, God's Son, has reconciled God unto us, 2 Cor. 5, 19; has delivered us from the power of the devil, Heb. 2, 14. 15.

Through His Word He makes us partakers of His redemption, John 11, 25. 26; 10, 27. 28. By means of His Gospel His Holy Spirit enlightens our understanding and will that we know Christ as our Savior and believe in Him. Thus He grants us forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation. He delivers us from eternal death, closes hell to us, and opens unto us the gates of paradise, Rom. 8, 1.

B. All that is the gift of God. "Death is the wages of sin"; it comes by desert. But eternal life is God's gift; it comes solely by God's grace. We can in no wise earn heaven; we must thank God and not ourselves when we get to heaven.

C. All this fills us with hope concerning the deceased before us. We hope that God by the means of grace, by His Word and Sacra-

ment, which the deceased from his childhood days faithfully used, preserved him in faith, even in the sad state of mind in which he was. Eternal life is the gift of God, a free gift of His grace and favor. We cannot earn it; we receive it without any merit or worthiness in us, by grace alone, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. But God earnestly desires to give us all this precious gift, 1 Tim. 2, 4; 2 Pet. 3, 9.

Exhortation to accept God's grace in Christ which He offers us in His Word; then we have eternal life already here in the valley of death and will come to enjoy it forever when this life is past.

God grant us all true repentance and faith in our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, preserve us from an evil death, and finally receive us into glory!

F. H. EGGERS.

## Theological Observer. — Kirchlich-Zeitgeschichtliches.

### I. Amerika.

Werden die vergewaltigten Glieder der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche sich separieren? Der Berichterstatter der *Living Church* (13. Januar) schreibt: "The expiration of the ultimatum which a number of the bishops in Germany made to the Reichsbishop came January 4. The day was dramatic. The bishops were meeting in Halle and three times during the day were in communication with the Reichsbishop over the long-distance telephone, the Reichsbishop himself making the calls. His plea was that he wanted an extension of time to afford opportunity to reconstruct the church cabinet, all of whose members have resigned in accordance with the stipulations of the opposition. His insistence upon having at least one 'German Christian' leader in the cabinet was not agreeable to the bishops, who remained in session until January 5. Then Reichsbishop Mueller seems to have brought to bear his heaviest offensive by stating to them that the chancellor was greatly angered by their announced *intention of seceding from the United Evangelical Church* and that he regarded their desire to replace Reichsbishop Mueller and themselves appoint a church cabinet as evidence of inadmissible controversy within the Church. Outwardly at least the bishops seem to have capitulated, although the Pastors' Emergency Federation (which has been rapidly growing) has not seemed disposed to accept this defeat passively. Their representatives made a strong presentation in the interest of an aggressive policy to the assembled bishops at Halle, but they were forced to return to Berlin without any promises from the bishops, although they are reported not to have lessened in their determination to carry on the struggle for a Church that is free from nationalistic domination and race distinctions." Die Nummer vom 17. Februar schreibt: "It may yet be that the prediction made to me in Germany last summer will be fulfilled, i. e., that there would be many forced out of the National Church into the Free Churches." Die „Allg. Ev.-Luth. Kirchenzeitung“ vom 12. Januar berichtet: „Der Reichsbischof hat am 4. Januar folgende Verordnung über die ‚Wiederherstellung geordneter Zustände‘ in der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche erlassen: ‚Die kirchenpolitischen Kämpfe zerstören Frieden und Einigung in der Kirche; sie zerstören die notwendige

Verbundenheit der evangelischen Kirche mit dem nationalsozialistischen Staat. . . . Ich verordne daher, § 1. . . . Der Mißbrauch des Gottesdienstes zum Zwecke kirchenpolitischer Auseinandersetzungen, gleichviel in welcher Form, hat zu unterbleiben. . . . § 2. Kirchliche Amtsträger, die das Kirchenregiment oder dessen Maßnahmen öffentlich oder durch Verbreitung von Schriften, insbesondere durch Flugblätter oder Kundtschreiben angreifen, machen sich der Verletzung der ihnen obliegenden Amtspflichten schuldig. . . . § 3. Gegen kirchliche Amtsträger, die den Vorschriften der Paragraphen 1 und 2 zuwiderhandeln, ist unter sofortiger vorläufiger Enthebung vom Amte unverzüglich das förmliche Disziplinarverfahren mit dem Ziele der Entfernung aus dem Amt einzuleiten. . . . Will der Reichsbischof die „Deutschen Christen“ treffen oder die 6,000 Glieder des „Pfarrernotbundes“?

26. Januar: „Erklärung von 72 Universitätslehrern an den Reichsbischof: Als evangelische Theologen erklären wir zu der Verordnung des Herrn Reichsbischofs vom 4. Januar folgendes. . . . Die Verordnung gefährdet die Pflicht des Pfarrers, das lautere Evangelium ohne Menschenfurcht zu verkündigen und der Gemeinde zu helfen, auch die kirchlichen Räte im Lichte des Evangeliums zu sehen. . . . Sie setzt sich in Sachen der bischöflichen Autorität in Widerspruch zum Geiste der Bekenntnisschriften (vgl. Conf. Aug., Art. 28, § 76—78 Apol., Art. 7, § 27 f.)“ „Der Pfarrernotbund Braunschweig sandte folgendes Schreiben an den Landesbischof Behe: . . . Wir müssen es ablehnen, in Ihnen, wie es das Wesen des Bischofsamtes erfordert, den Seelsorger, geistlichen Führer und Berater der Pfarrer zu sehen. . . . Ihre kirchliche Machtposition beruht auf einer Wahl, bei der innerer und äußerer Zwang geübt worden ist. . . . Wir müssen feststellen, daß Sie Äußerungen getan haben und für Kundgebungen verantwortlich sind, die Irrlehren enthalten.“ „Kirche in Not. Unter dieser Aufschrift wird in Sachsen eine Flugschrift verbreitet, die zu einer Sammlung von Bekenntnisläuben unter dem Namen „Evangelische Volkskirche“ auffordert.“ Es heißt da unter anderem: „Was wollen die „Deutschen Christen“? . . . Ganz allgemein kann gesagt werden, daß die Bewegung auf religiösem Gebiet einen Rückfall in den Liberalismus bedeutet. Ihr theologisches Gedankengut, vor allem ihre Bibelkritik, ist zumeist Restbestand der überlebten liberalen Theologie. . . . Wir wollen das evangelische Kirchenvolk nicht aufs neue dem Vortwurf aussetzen lassen, daß es in einer Stunde weltgeschichtlicher Entscheidung geschlafen hat.“

2. Februar: „über die in letzter Woche gepflogenen, mit höchster Spannung erwarteten Verhandlungen der Bischöfe mit dem Reichsbischof ist bisher nichts in die Öffentlichkeit gedrungen als folgende völlig undurchsichtige Mitteilung: Berlin, 28. Januar. . . . Folgende gemeinsame Erklärung wurde abgegeben: . . . Die versammelten Kirchenführer stellen sich geschlossen hinter den Reichsbischof und sind gewillt, seine Maßnahmen und Verordnungen in dem von ihm gewünschten Sinne durchzuführen, die kirchenpolitische Opposition gegen sie zu verhindern und mit allen ihnen verfassungsmäßig zustehenden Mitteln die Autorität des Reichsbischofs zu festigen.“ Die Tagespresse berichtete am 28. Februar: „Accusing Reichsbishop Ludwig Mueller of establishing a 'dictatorial reign in the Protestant Church,' preachers and elders from thirty of the thirty-three Rhenish districts urged their congregations to-day to disobey the bishop's orders. 'He is governing in violation of God's Word,' said their manifesto. Representatives of the Lutheran, Reformed, and United churches attended.“

Man hat den Unionismus der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche hingenommen. Darüber schreibt die „Ev.-Luth. Freikirche“ vom 7. Januar: „Wir lesen im „Ev.-Luth. Zeitblatt“: . . . „Mag auch die bekennniskirchliche Haltung innerhalb der Reichskirche zwiespältig erscheinen, das eine ist sicher: jeder Versuch einer gewaltsamen Lösung hätte dahin geführt, die gesamtdeutsche Kirchengestaltung für Gegenwart und absehbare Zukunft einer bekennnisslosen Entwicklung zu überlassen. Ganz gewiß muß auch das in statu confessionis gewagt werden; es kann das Schisma zur unausweichlichen Pflicht werden. Aber wer will sich zum Gewissensrichter über die lutherischen Bischöfe am 11. Juli machen und behaupten, sie hätten diese Not bereits für vorhanden erkennen müssen? Separation wäre gleichbedeutend gewesen mit dem (freilich unfreiwilligen!) Verzicht, den gegebenen Auftrag der lutherischen Kirche am Ganzen des evangelischen Volkes zu erfüllen. . . .“ Hier liegt der verhängnisvolle Irrtum vor, dem schon vor Jahrzehnten die Christen innerhalb der „lutherischen“ Landeskirchen zum Opfer gefallen sind, die da meinten, in der Landeskirche bleiben zu müssen, um dort als ein Salz zu wirken und dem Bekenntnis wieder zur Geltung zu verhelfen. Es ist ihnen nicht gelungen. Jetzt verschlingt die Union ganze Landeskirchen. Und nun heißt es für ganze „Kirchenkörper“, sie müßten den Posten innerhalb der Reichskirche behaupten. Diesen Weg einen „Gehorsamsweg“ zu nennen, heißt die Dinge auf den Kopf stellen. Daß die Reichskirche uniert oder, richtiger gesagt, bekennnisslos ist, liegt doch klar am Tage. Und daß das dem geoffenbarten Willen Gottes zuwider ist, sollte doch kein Lutheraner leugnen. Dann aber ist der Gehorsamsweg doch nur der, daß man nach Röm. 16, 17 *w e i c h t* von denen, die Zertrennung und Ärgernis anrichten.“ Das irrende Gewissen hat manche getrieben, den Unionismus der Reichskirche hinzunehmen. Bei andern haben ausgesprochenenmaßen äußerliche Gründe mit den Ausschlag gegeben. Die *Living Church* (24. Februar) stellt die Sache nicht verkehrt dar, wenn sie schreibt: „The question as to why the Southern bishops bowed to the Reichsbishop seems to be at least in part answered by the fact that General Goering definitely threatened to cut the whole contribution from the state of more than 100,000,000 marks, which provides the principal support to the churches, unless the Reichsbishop were given a free hand.“ Die gottwidrige Union, die im Wesen der Reichskirche liegt, hat die Lutheraner nicht zum Austritt aus der Reichskirche treiben können. Werden vielleicht die Greuel, die die Union von Kirche und Staat gezeitigt hat, die Separation herbeiführen?

Wie weit man schon in der Verteidigung des Unionismus gekommen ist, erkennt man aus einem Artikel Dr. G. Fr. Schüßes in der Novembernummer (1933) des *Theological Magazine of the Evangelical Synod of North America*. Der Artikel handelt von den „Schranken des Unionsprinzips“ und legt am Schlusse dar: „Das Unionsprinzip marschiert. Immer mehr Kirchenkörper vereinigen sich zu größeren Gemeinschaften. Wir sehen im Geiste die Zeit voraus — freilich wir selber werden sie nicht mehr erleben, vielleicht auch unsere Kinder noch nicht, wohl aber die dritte oder vierte Generation —, wo es in Amerika nur noch drei christliche Kirchen geben wird: die katholische, die Walthersche (vulgo missourische) und die dritte, die große Unionskirche. Alle andern Kirchen werden sich teilen und je nach der Seite, nach welcher sie gravieren, in das katholische, missourische oder

evangelische Lager übergehen. Da ist die anglikanische Kirche, in der wir eine Spaltung voraussehen. Die Anhänger der High Church werden nach Rom zurückfließen, während die Low und die Broad Church sich auf die evangelische Seite schlagen werden. Auch in der lutherischen Kirche wird es so weit kommen, daß alle Befürworter der „reinen Lehre und Leere“ sich um das Banner Walther's versammeln, während der vernünftige (?) Teil der vielen lutherischen Synoden zur Unionskirche übergehen wird, die wir — mag sie einmal heißen wie sie will — einstweilen als die protestantisch-evangelische bezeichnen wollen: protestantisch, weil sie abweist alles Menschliche, Unbiblische, Widergöttliche, und evangelisch, weil sie als den positiven Teil ihres Bekenntnisses festhält an dem Grund, der zuvor gelegt ist und außer dem niemand einen andern legen kann, weil sie sich bekennt zu dem lebendigen Glauben an Jesum Christum, den wahren Gott und wahren Menschen in einer Person, den Heiland, Erlöser und Herrn.“ Wir haben selten einen Paragraphe gelesen, der in so wenig Sätzen so viel Gift gegen die lutherische Kirche, spezifisch die Missouri-Synode, ausgespien hat wie dieser. Jeder Leser kann sich dazu seinen eigenen Kommentar machen.

P. E. R.

**The Departure of Modern Anglicans from the Principle of "Sola Scriptura."** When, last October, the Catholic Congress of the Protestant Episcopal Church met in Philadelphia, one of the visitors attending it was Mr. Will Spens, vice-chancellor of Cambridge University, England, who is described as a distinguished English lay theologian belonging to the Anglo-Catholic section of his Church. At the congress he presented a paper having the title "Authority in the Kingdom of God." Since he belongs to the Conservatives, we were eager to read his presentation and were — hugely disappointed. To show to what extent even Anglicans of the conservative type have departed from the old moorings, we present a synopsis of his address.

At the beginning of the Catholic revival, so the vice-chancellor stated, the leaders of the movement appealed to the *Prayer-book* and showed that what they were teaching was substantially in harmony with the standards of the Anglican Church. They had to face the difficulty, however, that in some respects the *Book of Common Prayer* did not teach their views. Besides, this objection to their course was raised that, if they were intending to lead the Church back to the views held in the sixteenth century, they were assigning too great an importance to a special age in the Church and to a single country (England). As a result the Scriptures were appealed to, and "since these received varied interpretations and on certain points were admittedly silent or indecisive," the appeal was made to the Scriptures "as interpreted by the fathers and by the undivided Church." Gradually there came to be recognized "the existence and legitimacy of development of doctrine." However, even the appeal to the undivided Church, says Mr. Spens, proved inadequate, and the ultimate appeal must be to "religious experience and the religious consciousness." He that takes his basis here can adhere to Catholicism and to the Anglican Communion.

Obviously, so the presentation continues, acceptance of the Christian religion involves the belief that the Holy Spirit will guide the Church to the knowledge of the truth. This does not mean that the Church at any given stage of the process necessarily will be free from error. Rather



does it mean that such errors as arise will gradually be corrected. Thus, for instance, while in the early days, even according to apostolic teaching, the second advent was looked upon as imminent, in the course of time, without grave loss to the life of the Church, this error was eliminated. Besides, even if divine truth in a certain age is expressed in the best possible manner, "that expression is limited and conditioned by the thought of that age." Every new age calls for new definitions, and "we need authoritative guidance as to the modifications which are required and which will conserve the Christian faith. One attempt to deal with this problem we find in the claim that the Papacy is the 'living voice,' . . . required to decide between true and false development of doctrine." Others endeavor to cope with the difficulty by saying that "we can rely on the common teaching" of the different branches of the Church. But it is evident with respect to this latter attempt that the extent of common teaching, if all Protestant bodies are considered, is too small to furnish the norm which is required. As for the Roman claim that the Pope is the infallible authority in the Church, we must say that the grounds on which it is based (the argument that God could not have left the Church without certain guidance and the appeal to direct passages in the Scriptures) are not furnishing the proof which we have to ask for. In opposition to this the Catholic revival "has tended to accept such Roman doctrines as seem to be directly involved in acceptance of the Catholic devotional life, and it has tended to reject those Roman doctrines which are less closely related to the devotional life and have manifestly arisen, at least in the main, in the excogitation of a particular system." The extent to which a doctrine is necessarily required by an approved devotional life is "the measure of the authority which that doctrine possesses." Hence, "in so far as a doctrine issues from, and coordinates, the Christian life, and in so far as it fits into a theological system which does so over the widest possible field, that doctrine is entitled to intellectual acceptance." "Such a view is at once the only possible ground for the authority of doctrine and the conception of authority which our Lord Himself taught."

This, according to Mr. Spens, does not deny that there is real authority. Just as in science we arrive at definite conclusions on the basis of experience, so in theology. The view proposed, furthermore, will not require much reconstruction in theology because our doctrines, as we have them, reflect to a great extent the experiences of the early Christians and of those living in the Middle Ages. Catholic theology and Catholic piety are really synthetic; that is, they embody the ideas which have been vital in other religions. There must be reconstruction, however, in three fields: first, in that section of theology which is not very directly related to the religious life; secondly, in the attitude toward the Reformation, recognizing that it was a revolt of the religious consciousness against medieval theology; thirdly, in utilizing properly the present advance of philosophic and scientific thought, which ought to enable us "to overcome old difficulties and old antinomies," particularly with reference to the doctrine of the Real Presence, the doctrine of Creation, and the doctrine of the Last Things.

We have presented what we consider a fair sketch of the contents of the paper of Chancellor Spens on "Authority in the Church." Is it necessary to point out at length that the view he sponsors will lead men from

uncertainty to still greater uncertainty and will result in this, that the Church will finally have no clear, definite message at all any more to proclaim? How little he is justified in saying that his view represents the teaching of Christ on authority is certainly brought out strikingly by the threefold reply of Jesus to Satan, "It is written." It is sad to think that churchmen who have the reputation of being conservative are so absolutely leading people away from the Water of Life. A.

## II. Ausland.

**Evangelium und Geist.** Unter dieser Überschrift behandelt Prof. Dr. A. Köberle-Basel im „Ev. Missionsmagazin“ die dem Evangelium sich feindlich widersetzenden Mächte, mit denen der christliche Prediger und Missionar zu rechnen hat. Da ist zunächst der „an Gott gleichgültig vorübergehende Mensch“. über ihn schreibt Dr. Köberle: „Um die Tatsache kommen wir nicht herum, daß heute Millionen von Menschen diesen Weg eingeschlagen haben, daß sie aus dem Raum der christlichen Kirche weggelaufen sind und vor allem in den Fragen der sittlichen Lebensgestaltung sehr betont ihre eigenen Wege gehen. Der Tennisschläger, die Reitpeitsche ist ihnen am Sonntagmorgen vertrauter in der Hand als das Gesangbuch. In der Geschlechterfrage, in der Freiheit des erotischen Lebens, läßt man sich von keiner kirchlichen Instanz mehr etwas dreinreden. Man schätzt jugendliches, blühendes Aussehen mehr als die Last der Mutterschaft. Die emanzipierte Frauenwelt in Japan und Indien denkt heute in diesen Fragen nicht anders als die amerikanische Jugend, der von Vindsey die verpflichtungslose Kameradschaftsehe empfohlen wird. Man spielt lieber mit einem Seidenhündchen als mit einem Kinde. Die Arbeit gilt hier nicht mehr als Ausdruck einer göttlichen Berufung, nicht mehr als ein Grund zur Dankbarkeit. Sie wird auch von denen, die nicht in dem zermürbenden Frondienst am laufenden Band stehen müssen, immer mehr nur betrachtet als die leider unentbehrliche Bedingung zur Existenzgrundlage. Es ist selbstverständlich, daß man sein Geld für sich verbraucht. Es ist das gute Recht vor allem aller jungen Menschen, sich vor der Ehe zunächst einmal gründlich auszuleben. Gut essen und gut trinken sind hier wichtiger als Opfer für Volksleid und Weltleid. Der Name Gottes wird in diesen Kreisen . . . nicht geschmäht, nicht befehdet, aber er wird auch nicht mehr gefürchtet. Er spielt im Grunde überhaupt keine Rolle mehr. Es geht auch ohne ihn. Wozu soll man sich da noch lange abhängig machen und gebunden fühlen durch eine höhere, überweltliche Macht?“

Nach weiterer Beschreibung behandelt dann Dr. Köberle den „Gott hassenden Menschen“. Er schreibt: „Hier verzichtet man nicht nur auf Gott; hier kämpft man gegen Gott mit leidenschaftlich verbissener Wut, so wie es Lenin einmal ausgesprochen hat, er hasse Gott als seinen persönlichen Feind. Das Christentum gilt nicht nur als überflüssig, es ist gefährlich und schädlich. Es muß als Betrug entlarvt, muß möglichst rasch aus der Welt geschafft werden. Es gehört ins Museum, in das Naritätenkabinett der menschlichen Torheiten und Lächerlichkeiten. Die besten Karikaturzeichner sind gerade gut genug, um Christum und sein Kreuz zu verhöhnern. Durch Spottlieder und aufreizende Knittelverse muß schon den jungen Menschen jede Ehrfurcht und Liebe gegenüber den Evangelien gründlich ausgetrieben werden. Man führt Schulklassen vor ein Denkmal, das die Gestalt des Judas Ischariot darstellen soll, und sagt den Kindern: „Seht,

hier ist der größte Wohltäter der Menschheit, weil er diesen Jesum von Nazareth verriet! Es ist jedes Mittel recht und erlaubt, von den antireligiösen Spielkarten bis zur Gottlosenrevue, von der Verbreitung der Hebebibel bis zur planmäßig vorbereiteten Kirchenaustrittsversammlung, wenn die Menschheit dadurch nur endlich befreit wird von der unseligen Gebundenheit an Gott, von der trügerischen Jenseitshoffnung, von dem törichten Christusglauben."

Am dritter Stelle behandelt Dr. Köberle die „abergläubische Tragik". Er schreibt: „Die religiöse Lage der Gegenwart entbehrt nicht einer tiefen Tragik. Nebeneinander stehen der gottentfremdete und der gegen Gott ankämpfende Mensch. Beide berufen sich bei ihrer Abkehr gleichermaßen auf Verstand und experimentelle Beobachtung, auf Wissenschaft, Bildung und Technik. Sie erklären: Diese neuzeitlichen Erkenntnisse verbieten es unserm intellektuellen Gewissen, mit der Wirklichkeit Gottes noch zu rechnen. Aber nun ist es eigenartig und tief erschütternd, zu sehen, wie eben diese Welt des Unglaubens immer wieder in einer ganz grotesken Weise umschlägt in die Welt des Aberglaubens. Die Wunder Jesu, seinen österlichen Sieg über den Tod, bestreitet man natürlich vom modernen Kaufsgeboten her. Die Erhörung des Bittgebets widerspricht der Geltung der Naturgesetze, die keinerlei Durchbrechung gestatten. Der Entwicklungsgedanke verbietet es grundsätzlich, von einer einmaligen, einzigartigen, unüberbietbaren Gottesoffenbarung in Christo zu reden. So kritisiert der aufgeklärte, helle Geist im Vollgefühl seiner Überlegenheit die Welt Gottes und liegt dabei gleichzeitig in der schwersten Knechtschaft einer beständigen Weltenangst und Geisterfurcht. Kein modernes Luxushotel darf ein Zimmer mit der Nummer 13 führen; ein solcher Raum müßte dauernd leer stehen. Ebenso soll möglichst keine Straße, die heute neu angelegt wird, die ominöse Zahl unter ihre Hausnummern aufnehmen; es würden sich keine Mieter für eine solche Wohnung finden. Seit dem Weltkrieg spielen Himmelsbriefe, Talisman und Amulett, magische Pergamente, Steine und Parfüme wieder eine gewaltige Rolle in der Volksfrömmigkeit. Hervorragende Staatsmänner tragen ihre Schutzmittel genau so wie die meisten Flugzeugführer, Sportkanonen, Filmgrößen, Tennismeisterinnen und Schauspieler. Wahrsagerei, Zauberei, Kartenlegen blühen auf Bauerndörfern ebenso wie in den Weltstädten Paris und New York. Sehr kluge, fortschrittlich gesinnte Menschen, die in allen Stücken mit der Zeit gehen wollen, fürchten sich vor dem „bösen Blick" eines Gegners und suchen sich durch Gewinnung und Erzeugung von magischen Kräften dagegen zu schützen. Unsere Nervenärzte bekommen heutzutage Patienten ins Sprechzimmer, die schwermütig darüber geworden sind, weil sie ein schlechtes Saturnhoroskop haben. Junge Männer können sich in den besten Lebensjahren zu keiner energischen Tat mehr aufraffen, weil sie als Mondmenschen ja doch dazu prädestiniert sind, hinter den Löwenmenschen immer wieder zurückzubleiben. Kettenbriefe, die unerwartet ins Haus geflogen kommen und die man zum Zweck des Weitergebens mehrmals abschreiben muß, werden prompt erledigt, damit einem ja nichts zustoßt."

Auf dies Thema, das Dr. Köberle hier so trefflich behandelt, dürfte auch in der Predigt und im Jugendunterricht hingewiesen werden, nicht nur um vor den genannten Abirrungen zu warnen, sondern auch um zu zeigen, wie schrecklich sich der Unglaube im menschlichen Leben rächt.

J. T. W.

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## Book Review. — Literatur.

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**The New Testament in the Light of the Believer's Research.** By *P. E. Kretzmann, Ph. D., D. D.*, Professor of New Testament Interpretation, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Mich. 1934. 112 pages, 5×8. Price, \$1.00. Order from Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo.

In publishing this contribution to the discussion of questions having to do with the New Testament, our esteemed colleague has made all of us his debtors. We are here introduced to the mature conclusions of a scholar who has given much of his time to the critical questions which every student of the New Testament must face. In addition, important doctrines are touched on. In the first chapter the inspiration of the New Testament is discussed, and the old Biblical doctrine of the inspiration and the inerrancy of the Scriptures is defended. The second chapter speaks of the Freer Manuscripts and the Oxyrhynchus papyri, which have aroused much interest and discussion during the last decades. The third chapter speaks of the Koridethi Manuscript, which is held to be the best witness for the Caesarean readings in the gospels, and, besides, the latest discoveries in Egypt (the Beatty collection) are described. Then there follows a chapter in which the question is investigated, When was Jesus born? and the historical material available is placed before the reader. Chapter five treats of the earliest Christian congregations at Rome and Antioch, throwing the light of the Scriptures and of history on these venerable churches. Chapter six has as its topic the much-discussed question of the chronological sequence of the Pauline letters, and this quite properly in the next chapter is followed by an investigation of what can be ascertained as to "the place and the time of the Captivity Letters of Paul" (Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon). The last chapter of the book has the heading "The Last Twenty-five Years of Peter's Life," in which proof is submitted that Peter actually was in Rome, while at the same time it is pointed out that this does not imply an endorsement of the Roman claims as to a sojourn of Peter in Rome which lasted twenty-five years. This brief survey has shown, we trust, that this little work is remarkably rich and varied in content, and we heartily commend it to all who are interested in the questions and facts touched on. What makes the book so valuable is that not only solid scholarship is aimed at, but that the author throughout accepts the Scriptures as the infallible Word of God, standing on which we can defy the world.

W. ARNDT.

**Sermon Outlines on the Cross of Christ.** Specially designed for pre-Easter devotional and evangelistic campaigns. By *C. C. Crawford*. 172 pages, 5×7½. Bound in paper. Price, \$1.00. Published by the author.

The author of this book is clearly a Fundamentalist, one who believes in the inspiration of the Bible and in the atonement through the blood of Christ. It is true that there are a few places which should be corrected by the user of the book. The author's presentation is not quite adequate with regard to the humiliation of Christ (p. 45 f.) and with regard to original sin (pp. 16, 105). He finds no intimation of infant church-member-

ship in the apostolic writings (p. 125), and his comparison between the Old Testament and the New is inadequate in many respects (pp. 125—127). He quotes with approval from Brown, *Beliefs that Matter*, although Brown's entire book offers only an emasculated Gospel. There is a slight mistake on page 109, where the author states that the word *malefactor* is derived from two *Greek* words.—But after one has made these corrections, he may well use the rest of the book to the best advantage. It is, on the whole, a fine compilation and arrangement of pertinent material, some of which is indeed a trifle fanciful, but most of which is valuable, also on the doctrinal side. The author makes a splendid statement (p. 80) concerning the falseness of the so-called evolution of religion. On page 83 he correctly states that expressions such as "the religions of mankind" are, technically speaking, misnomers. "Confucianism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, etc., are in reality systems of philosophy. Christianity is the only religion, because it is the only system which makes possible reconciliation between creature and Creator." There are splendid sections on the mysteries of Christianity, on the fulfilment of Old Testament predictions regarding the Messiah, but in particular on every phase of reconciliation through the Cross. Any pastor who wants to be stimulated along the lines of Biblical thinking will derive much benefit from this book.

P. E. KRETZMANN.

**A History of the Christian Church.** By *Lars P. Qualben*. St. Olaf College. Thomas Nelson and Sons, New York. 1933. 590 pages. Price, \$2.50.

This book marks progress in a field in which it was greatly needed. It is "primarily intended as a text-book for college and seminary classes." It will serve its purpose well in high-school, academy, and junior-college classes, possibly not so well in seminaries; a splendid book for reference in young people's societies; very serviceable to the man who has not made a speciality of church history and wants to review and refresh his memory of knowledge acquired in earlier days.—After an introduction, in which the definition, scope, and divisions of church history and the value of a study of church history are set forth, the author speaks on 23 pages of the world into which Christianity came, stressing particularly the organic relation between Christianity and the Old Testament; the formative period of the early Church to 590 A.D., 111 pages; the medieval world, 590 to 1517, 51 pages; the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, 159 pages; Protestant and Catholic thought in the last three centuries, 56 pages. The last third of the book is devoted to the Church in the New World. There are thirty chapters, many of them divided into several sections; each section followed by test questions and special topics for study, and each chapter by a list of books for collateral reading. The author is a Lutheran, and he views history throughout from the standpoint of a Lutheran. Correlation between church and secular history is well presented. It is by far the best book on the market for its purpose. We recommend it highly and have no doubt that a second edition will soon be necessary, in which case some typographical and a very few other errors might be corrected.—The whole make-up of the book is excellent and the price seems very reasonable.

THEO. HOYER.



**The New Church and the New Germany.** A Study of Church and State. By *Charles S. Macfarland*. The Macmillan Company. New York. 1934. 200 pages, 5½×8. Price, \$2.25. Order through Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo.

This fairly accurate description of the conditions obtaining in the Church in Germany owing to the existing relation of Church and State and of the recent momentous events marking the struggle between the powers of the State and the protesting parties, more particularly between the "German Christians" and the "New Reformation Movement" groups, is based not so much on the accounts appearing in the press as on the author's long acquaintance with German men and affairs and recent personal observation. It covers the political background; the German churches before the organization of the German Church Federation; the German Church Federation, how constituted; the new Evangelical Church of Germany; the Free Churches under the Third Reich; the Jewish problem and the Aryan legislation; the Roman Catholic Concordat; the conflicting parties—the "German Christians," the "New Reformation Movement," Karl Barth and his followers; non-Christian Teutonic cults and bodies; the Youth Movement. There are four appendices: the Constitution of the Evangelical Church of Germany, the Marburg Statement on the Aryan Paragraph, an abstract of the Statements of the Erlangen Faculty, and the Roman Catholic Concordat. The main issue at present, the relation between Church and State, receives full treatment. It is summarized in the statements: "The New Reformation Movement and the 'Gospel and Church' parties (two groups not entirely identical) feel that the 'German Christians' are disposed to tie Church and State together as closely as possible, while they themselves insist on a 'free Church within the State.'" And: "We may look for a revived conflict on this vital issue between Church and State." In this connection this statement is of interest: "It is difficult to estimate the relative strength of the two groups. A responsible official of the German Church estimated in October that of approximately 20,000 pastors there appeared to be 2,500 or more in each group, the other 15,000 not having alined themselves definitely enough to be designated as belonging to either camp." Naturally, Dr. Macfarland, General Secretary Emeritus of the Federal Council, cannot evaluate one of the tragic developments of the present crisis: the ease and complacency with which the thirty-four German Evangelical *Landeskirchen*, classified as Lutheran, Reformed, or "United," entered the German Church Federation of 1922, thus establishing "a closer union of Protestantism" (p. 21), and then took the next step, forming the new Evangelical Church, pronouncedly a unionistic Church. And in this connection Dr. Macfarland, most guilelessly, tells the Lutheran bodies involved what we have been telling them for many years: "In this union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches each retains its own confession. In the several states of the Reich there are similar unions, and indeed there were even such, at least to some extent, before the present national union." (P. 41.) While we deplore the lack of confessionalism among the German pastors and churches, we certainly admire the firmness and Christian heroism many of them are showing in their stand against the aggression of the caesaropapistical groups. We agree, in a mea-

sure, with the concluding paragraphs of the book: "The profoundest sensation has been that of admiration for the great body of the German pastors — among them not a few originally highly motivated 'German Christians' — who have withstood the mighty sweep of material force with spiritual power. They, too, had assented to, or were compliant with, or accepted with toleration, a human domination of all else, which is perhaps the most consummate in history. But they would not and will not yield the Christian Church, Gospel, and ministry to human monarchy or monarch. . . . They have revealed a courage in a moment of seeming utter defeat which will command the admiration and respect of the entire Christian world." — The survey is brought up to the second reorganization of the Church in late December. What has developed since then and is bound to develop in the near future will necessitate some supplementary volumes.

TH. ENGELDER.

**Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands.** Von D. J o h a n n M i c h a e l R e u. Erster Teil: Quellen zur Geschichte des Katechismusunterrichts. III. Ost-, Nord- und Westdeutsche Katechismen. 1. Abteilung: Historisch-bibliographische Einleitung. Zweite Hälfte. Zweite Lieferung. Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh. 1933. 358 Seiten 6½ × 9¼. Preis: M. 18, kartoniert.

Dies ist wiederum eine Abteilung des trefflichen Quellenwerks des gelehrten Verfassers. Gewöhnlich sind Quellenwerke als trodene Werke verschrien, die höchstens für den Spezialisten Wert haben. Das mag bei manchen solchen Werken der Fall sein, trifft aber ganz gewiß nicht in bezug auf das gegenwärtige Werk zu. Der Verfasser versteht es, durch seine eingestreuten Bemerkungen und seine wohlgeählten Zitate uns ein lebendiges Bild der damaligen Verhältnisse zu entwerfen. Wie genau wird man z. B. mit dem kirchlichen Leben in den Lüneburger Gemeinden bekannt, wenn man liest, was der Verfasser Seite 816—882 zusammengetragen hat! Man begegnet da dem für die Einführung der Reformation in Lüneburg so eifrigen Kanzler Otto Förster. Man sieht Urbanus Rhegius an der Arbeit, Auslegungen des Lutherischen Katechismus zu schreiben. Man macht die Bekanntschaft des trefflichen Vossius, Konrektors am Johanneum in Lüneburg, des gediegenen Pädagogen und Methodikers, der nicht nur Katechismen, sondern auch Perikopenauslegungen für seine Schüler schrieb, der sich sonderlich auch der Hebung des kirchlichen Gesanges widmete. Man sieht gleichsam die Kinder und jungen Leute zur Schule eilen. Man bekommt einen Einblick in den Stundenplan des Johanneums. Man nimmt mit der Gemeinde, die versammelt ist, Gottes Wort zu hören, am Gottesdienst teil. Man hört den kräftigen Gemeindegesang und die jugendlichen Chöre, die allerdings selbst 1550 noch zum großen Teil lateinische Lieder sangen. Kurz, die alte Zeit lebt wieder auf, und man erbaut sich an dem frischen Leben, das durch die Reformation Luthers in allen Gauen Deutschlands, in Kirche und Schule und Haus, wieder bemerkbar wurde. Und man dankt Gott, daß man befreit ist von der Finsternis des Papsttums, die in der Kirchenordnung für Calenberg vom Jahre 1542, wie folgt, geschildert wird: „Was haben wir, ehe denn das Evangelium widerumb auffkam, gewußt vom Catechismo, Das ist, von der Kinder zucht? Was wußten wir vom rechten brauch des Hochwirdigen Abendmals? Wo lerete man recht von der wirde der heiligen Tauff? Wo hat man recht gehandelt den Artikel von vergebung der Sünden? Von der Justification? Von rechtsschaffnen guten Werden? Von dem heiligen Creuz? Seind nicht die Geißlichen mit lauterer Fabeln umgangen? War es nicht dahin komen, das

man vergebung der sünde um gelt, nicht on mercklichen nachteil des verdrinßs Christi, verkauft hat? Wölte aber ihemand solchs leugnen, So sage er uns, Warumb denn der Ablass in Deutschland so gemein worden sey?" (S. 909.)

Das Wert verdient weite Verbreitung.

L. Lütjch.

**Luthers Werke in Auswahl.** Sechster Band: Luthers Briefe, herausgegeben von Hanns Rüdert. Verlag von Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin. 1933. XII und 440 Seiten 5×7½, in Leinwand mit Dedel- und Rückentitel gebunden. Preis: M. 8.

In dieser schönen, handlichen Ausgabe ist wieder ein neuer Band erschienen, der Luthers Briefe darbietet, natürlich nicht alle Briefe, die Luther geschrieben hat — diese füllen ja in unserer St. Louiser Ausgabe zwei große Bände —; aber es ist eine gute Auswahl getroffen worden. Vollständig aufgenommen sind die Briefe Luthers von der Wartburg, die des Jahres 1527 und die auf der Koburg geschriebenen, ferner sämtliche Briefe an Staupitz und an Luthers Ehefrau Käthe. Die Briefe werden dargeboten, wie Luther sie geschrieben hat, lateinisch oder deutsch; nur ist die Rechtschreibung moderner, ebenso die Interpunktion. Sehr wertvoll sind die Anmerkungen. Und Prof. D. D. Clemen in Jwidau, der Luthers sämtliche Briefe für die große Weimarer Lutherausgabe bearbeitet, hat dem Herausgeber manche Dienste geleistet. Wir möchten übrigens bei dieser Gelegenheit einmal bemerken, daß dieser eben genannte berühmte Luthersforscher, wie wir aus privaten Mitteilungen wissen, sich sehr günstig über unsere St. Louiser Ausgabe ausgesprochen hat, die sich jetzt auch in der Jwidauer Ratshulbibliothek befindet. Er benutzt bei seiner Arbeit gern auch unsere St. Louiser Ausgabe. Beim Prüfen des vorliegenden Bandes und gelegentlichem Lesen — wer kann Luthers Briefe auch nur durchblättern, ohne immer wieder festgehalten zu werden? — fiel unser Blick unter anderem auf den kurzen, schönen Brief an Käthe Luther, den der Reformator an seine um ihn besorgte Hausfrau von Eisleben aus wenige Tage vor seinem Tode schrieb. „Lies Du, liebe Kethe, den Johannem und den Kleinen Katechismus, davon Du zu dem Mal sagtest: Es ist doch alles in dem Buch von mir gesagt. Denn Du willst sorgen für Deinen Gott, gerade als wäre er nicht allmächtig, der da könnte zehn Doktor Martinus schaffen, wo der einige alte erschöpfe in der Saale oder im Ofenloch oder auf Wolfs Vogelherd. Laß mich in Frieden mit Deiner Sorge; ich hab' einen bessern Sorger, denn Du und alle Engel sind. Der liegt in der Krippe und hänget an einer Jungfrauen Zigen, aber sihet gleichwohl zur rechten Hand Gottes, des allmächtigen Vaters. Darum sei in Frieden! Amen.“ (S. 419.) (St. Louiser Ausgabe XXI b, 3195.)

L. Fürbringer.

**Christian Stewardship and Its Modern Implications.** By the Rev. Paul Lindemann. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo. 46 pages, 6×9. Price, 15 cts., net, postpaid.

A tract on stewardship! Ah, money, of course! some will exclaim. That, however, has been our very mistake — to connect stewardship chiefly with money. Says the writer of the tract, Pastor Paul Lindemann: “Most people think of Christian stewardship in terms of money rather than in terms of life. Stewardship-teaching in our own circles has been primarily financial instead of educational. It has busied itself with the raising of funds rather than with the building of character. It has not been kept entirely clear of legalism and has laid an undue emphasis on mechanical methods and systematization rather than on the principles of joyous liberty

and spontaneous service which the recognition of the true principles of stewardship implied. And yet the attitude towards our money represents only one of the phases of our stewardship. True stewardship comprehends the responsibilities of a Christian in all the many relationships of life. It takes into account every phase of human living. It involves the responsibility of the individual to God in the matter of all his possessions — time, talent, energy, money, and life itself. All of man, with all his powers and endowments, belongs to God. All of life, in all its interests and ramifications, belongs to God and is without qualification to be placed in His service. Man is carrying out God's design regarding him when he yields himself as an instrument to carry out God's world plan; otherwise his life is being mislived." Concerning our preaching Pastor Lindemann says: "Our sermons have been doctrinally clear and satisfying. We have given to our people solid soul food. There is absolutely no doubt about it that the Lutheran preaching is the best preaching of the day; and yet we venture a suggestion for self-examination as to why we are not applying the implications of stewardship with sufficient clarity. We preach the truth from heaven, and we preach it in all its glory, and we permit our people to draw the inferences. The trouble is that these inferences are not drawn. The pulpit statements are accepted as general theories. But do we not often fail clearly to portray the practical application? Do we show our hearers the courses along which they may exercise their faith, how they may live it out in their daily lives and in the work of the Church? Do we tell them, You profess to belong wholly to Christ? You believe that you can truthfully say, For me to live is Jesus. You believe that you can honestly sing: Take my life and let it be, Consecrated, Lord, to Thee. Do you mean it?" Concerning the financial difficulties of our Synod the author of the tract says: "Why is it that the too earnestly applied remedies of systematizing our finances and of educating our people have not brought the expected and desired results? There can be absolutely no doubt that our efforts along these lines have been in some measure successful and that they have in a striking degree stimulated the flow of funds into our treasuries. But after all, these two measures are more or less mechanical in character. Christian giving, as we have pointed out, needs a heart stimulus. It is animated not by logic and reason and synodical patriotism and pride of achievement nor even by a sense of duty, but its actuating impulse must be love." In this tract of forty-six pages what is called the *larger* stewardship is presented in its various phases and its modern implications. Pastor Lindemann writes in an interesting way; what he says is not only sound, but is worth while, and he does not mince words in stating facts. Our pastors will not only for themselves find much information and encouragement in this tract, but also an abundance of sermon material. We hold that a thorough indoctrination of our people in reference to the *larger* stewardship is much needed in our Synod. We are convinced that not until this has been done, will some of our serious troubles — not only nor first of all our financial troubles — be removed. Pastor Lindemann's tract is a valuable contribution to this end. But let us remember that what is said in the tract must, if it shall serve its purpose, be *read, studied, and applied*.

J. H. C. FEITZ.

**Outlines for Mission Lectures.** By *Prof. E. J. Friedrich*. Written by request for the Missionary Forward Endeavor. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo. 47 pages, 5×7½. Price, 15 cts., net, postpaid.

These texts and outlines are not intended to be used for the usual "mission service," as the name might indicate, but for special sermons which are needed just at this time to arouse us to a realization of the present conditions in the Church and in the world in the light of the Word of God. So says Professor Friedrich in his foreword: "What our congregations need is a clear interpretation, in the light of the Scriptures, of the present perplexing world situation, a restatement in concrete terms of the Church's duties, a bold, but sympathetic avowal of the fact that, taken as a whole, we are failing in the discharge of these duties, an arousing of the indifferent, a comforting and strengthening of the faithful, who everywhere are losing heart at present, and finally sincere repentance and earnest reconsecration on the part of each and every one. In short, we must get to the very heart of the matter; and this can be done only by bringing the Word of God to bear upon the present situation."

Because the sermons are to serve this purpose, they ought to be preached at the services which are attended by the largest number of people, on Sunday mornings. They could well be preached from Sunday Septuagesima to Sunday Judica. "It will no doubt be found expedient at most places," says Professor Friedrich, "to treat the matters pertaining to our present emergency in the regular Sunday morning sermons. This can be done without debauching the sermon or degrading it to the level of a mere lecture or talk. After all, many of our sermons would be far more effective if they would come to grips with the great problems of the Church and the individual church-member instead of treating the truths of the text objectively and without pointed references to existing conditions." We heartily agree. What is needed at all times, and *especially to-day*, is that the divine truths be *applied* to the needs of the people. We hope our pastors throughout Synod will send for these sermon outlines, which cost but the trifling sum of fifteen cents, and will use the large amount of sermon material given after they themselves have thoroughly worked through the texts. Now is the time for the Church to speak; she dare not remain silent in reference to the great needs of men in the Church and in the world to-day. The following texts and sermon themes are presented: 1 John 5, 19, "The Whole World Lieth in Wickedness"; Is. 40, 9, "The Lord's Chosen Servant for the Salvation of the World"; Num. 13, 26—14, 1, "The Alarming Attitude of the Church in the Face of Its Present Glorious Opportunities"; Lam. 3, 40—42a, "How can a Faltering Church be Restored to Fulness of Power and Missionary Zeal?"; Is. 54, 2—4a, "The Healthy Church in Action"; Luke 19, 12—27, "The Fundamental Facts of Christian Stewardship"; John 1, 35—37. 40—42a, "Personal Mission-work"; Rev. 3, 7—9, "I Have Set before Thee an Open Door."

J. H. C. FRITZ.



**Verhandlungen der neunzehnten Jahresversammlung des Texas-Distrikts.**  
80 Seiten  $5\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ . Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo.  
Preis: 15 Cts.

Dieser Bericht ist besonders wertvoll, nicht sowohl wegen der üblichen Geschäftsverhandlungen und der Missionsberichte (obgleich diese dem Kirchenhistoriker gute Dienste leisten können) als besonders wegen der Lehrverhandlungen. Thema dieser Arbeit war die Höllenfahrt Christi, und der Referent, Direktor Studtmann, hat nicht nur eine gründliche, sondern auch eine sehr erbauliche Arbeit geliefert. Wer sich über die Schriftlehre von der Höllenfahrt orientieren will, findet in diesem Berichte alles, was er nötig hat, die Darstellung aller Sonderlehren sowohl wie die volle Darlegung der Wahrheit auf Grund der Schrift.

P. E. Kretzmann.

**Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal.** By Arthur Carl Piepkorn. The University of Chicago Press. 109 pages,  $7 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ . Price, \$1.25.

Here is a *specimen eruditionis*, part of the work done by a graduate of a few years ago in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the doctor's degree. But it is not merely such a *specimen*; for the text gives us an opportunity to form a good idea of conditions during the reign of Ashurbanipal (668—626 B. C.), who was noted not only for his great wars of conquest, but also for his hunting prowess and for his interest in literature, his great library having been excavated by George Smith. A typical passage (on page 29) shows the boastfulness of the great Assyrian ruler: "I, Ashurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four world regions, duke of Babylon, king of the land of the Sumerian and the Akkadian, grandson of Sennacherib," etc. — Further studies of prism inscriptions are to follow.

P. E. KRETZMANN.

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